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THE EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN SYSTEM IN MALAYA

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to examine the developmental process in the formation of the urban system in Malaya. To provide a framework for such examination, a twofold working hypothesis is formulated at the outset: that no system of towns and cities related to the traditional society existed on the Malay peninsula in the past and that the present-day urban system is the product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

The first part of the hypothesis is verified through the examination of the two most important ancient trading centres on the peninsula: Kedah and Malacca. Both the city-state and the commercial empire, to which they belonged, failed to generate an indigenous urban system rooted in the traditional society.

The second part of the hypothesis, which constitutes the central theme of the present study, is substantiated from different angles. The 'surface' development in Perak illustrates the immigrants' efforts, reinforced by the colonial infrastructure, in spurring the process of urban crystallization. The 'nodal' development in Selangor embodied in Kuala Lumpur, demonstrates the critical importance of the concentration of the political power, the administrative paraphernalia and the transport networks, in addition to the immigrant economic activities, in the making of a capital. The slow pace of urban development in Kelantan and Trengganu, where the colonial-immigrant impact was at its weakest, reemphasizes the weight of the external factors. The rapid growth of Penang and Singapore and the commanding domination of the latter as the primate city, symbolise the full force of the colonial-immigrant complex, operating within the colonial space-economy.

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INTRODUCTION

I

Notwithstanding the existence of a few functionally important trading centres from the early centuries, Malaya[1] had no traditional urban system prior to the colonial-immigrant days. Indeed, it is doubtful if Malaya ever experienced what is known as the 'primary urbanization'.[2] It is also doubtful if any of the traditional centres could be described as 'orthogenetic city'.[3] However, contemporary Malaya is quite different. With over forty percent of her population classified as 'urban', she is indeed the most urbanised country in Asia with the exception of Japan and Israel.[4] The present day urban system of Malaya, with cities and towns arranging themselves into an hierarchical order, largely conforms to a lognormal distribution,[5] and is regulated by the spatial economy functioning through the transport network. Considering that what has developed into the present form of the system of cities and towns in Malaya has taken place only

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(1) This study traces urban development up to the end of the colonial regime (e.g. 1957), the term Malaya thus covers, unless otherwise stated, the Malay Peninsula and its associated islands including Singapore.

(2) An initial phase of urbanization when 'the pre-civilized folk more or less share a common culture which remains the matrix for the urban culture which develops from it'. See Hoselitz, B.F. (1955), 'Generative and Parasitive cities', E.D. & C.C., Vol. 3, No. 3, See also Chapter I.

(3) The 'Orthogenetic cities' are those which carry forward into 'systematic and reflective dimensions an old culture'. They are the cities of 'Great Tradition', capable of translating the folk society into the urban world. See Redfield, R. and Singer, M. (1954), 'The cultural role of the cities, E.D. & C.C., No. 3, p. 53.

(4) Based on 1957 population Census of the Federation of Malaya which classified as 'urban' all centres of over 1,000 inhabitants.

(5) See Hamzah Sendut, (1965), 'Statistical Distribution of Cities in Malaysia', Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.49-66.

within the last 150 or 200 years, the change has been rapid and the development phenomenal.

The purpose of this study is to examine the developmental process in the formation of this system. This is motivated by a modest desire to fill a corner of what seems to be a big gap in urban studies in Malaysia. Urban research is relatively new in the country and research workers have been few.[1] Moreover, the main focus has been on individual cities or aspects of individual cities.[2] And as in common with the rest of Southeast Asia, comprehensive studies of city systems 'are virtually nonexistent'.[3] The present work concerns itself primarily with the evolution of the urban system with a view to providing a base for thorough examination of the structure and the characteristics of the system at a later stage.

Urban systems evolve over space and time and are intimately related to the socio-economic development and the geo-political conditions of the country. A study of this nature calls for a historical approach.

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(1) Hamzah Sendut (1970), 'Urban Development in Malaysia', in Breese, G. (editor) Research Priorities for Urban Roles in National Development in Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group, p.76.

(2) Ibid. p.78.

(3) Ginsburg, N.S. (1965), 'Urban Geography and "Non-Western" Areas', in Hauser, P.M. and Schnore, L.F. (ed), The Study of Urbanization, New York, p.345. Lately geographers specialized in Southeast Asia have shown more interest in the spatial and functional character of the systems of cities in the region. (See SEADAG Reports (1972), Ad Hoc Urban Development Seminar, pp.2-3.) In Malaysia, Hamzah Sendut's 'Statistical Distribution of Cities in Malaysia' (Hamzah Sendut (1965), op.cit.) has been hailed as one of such studies. Hamzah himself however, considers it more as an exercise in methodology.

It hopes to trace the development at various stages within which the isolated settlements originated and grew or declined; and the contributing factors under which the urban settlements were welded and developed into a spatial structure. As the study is mainly concerned with the emergence of the urban system, the cities and towns will be looked at in concert and attention will be directed to those forces which were operative in the creation of the whole integrated structure. The growth of individual towns will be examined in depth in so far as they shed light on, and contribute to, the formation of the entire system.

Taking as its working hypothesis the assumption that Malaya had no traditional urban system in the past and that the present-day system of towns and cities is largely the product of the colonial-immigrant complex, this study focuses its attention on the following areas: the ancient trade centres of Kedah and Malacca, (and briefly the settlement of Johore Kingdom) the mining towns in Perak, the administrative capital (and its port) in Selangor, the agricultural urban settlements in Trengganu and Kelantan, and the colonial ports of Penang and Singapore.

The cases of Kedah and Malacca serve to illustrate respectively the failure of a city-state and a commercial empire to generate an indigenous urban system; together they point to the inherent weakness of the Malayan peninsula in terms of urban development: namely the absence of an extensive agricultural land and a large concentration of

population. Consequently the peninsula had not experienced, in spite of its favourable geographical position and long historical contacts, the benefit of a land-based political power centripetal, strong and durable enough for the individual centres to perpetuate themselves, and less still, for a nodal region of settlements to emerge. The kingdom of Johore shows the difficulties of the lesser political unit to survive in the face of scramble for control by the European powers in Southeast Asia, and the impediments for the indigenous centres to develop up to the end of the eighteenth century.

The case of Perak demonstrates the resource-based development as against the trade-oriented centres of Kedah and Malacca, with the immigrant miners providing the driving force for urban growth. In the process of urban crystallization initiated by the mining industry and the immigrants, the traditional society was being largely 'by-passed', and the indigenous settlements were more often than not left out of the main-stream of development. Later development in the State reveals the weaknesses of tin-based urban settlements. The rapidity with which the settlements sprang up and grew was matched by a 'stop-go' fluctuation and a constant shift of centres of importance, dictated by the changing fortunes of the mines. Not until the administrative or commercial functions and transport facilities brought about by the colonial economy were added to the mining towns could they enjoy a greater measure of permanency and a sustained growth. A more settled and stable pattern

of development in keeping with the resources endowment began to take shape. It was then too late for Perak to retain its lead in the urban development of the Federated Malay States: with locational and political factors working in its favour, Selangor already forged ahead.

Selangor, also rich in tin resources, could have been another Perak but for its central position in the Federated Malay States. As it was, the concentration of political functions and the convergence of transportation networks at Kuala Lumpur, the capital of the Federated Malay States gave it more than an edge over the neighbouring states. From the turn of the century, the gravity of economic development moved from Perak to Selangor. An urban 'point' development as against the urban 'surface' development in Perak began to manifest itself. The most important mainland nodal point of the urban system, in contrast to the two colonial ports, took root in the shape of Kuala Lumpur. With the rapid growth of the capital came development of its port outlet (first Klang and later Port Swettenham) and recently the satellite towns.

Given the political and economic framework, inevitably it had to be the colonial ports of Penang and Singapore, more than any other centre, which set the tune and fashioned the evolution of the urban system throughout the colonial period. Acting as the bridgehead and the head-link for the colonial economy, the two ports occupied the commanding heights of the spatial structure. The lesser coastal ports were reduced to the status of commercial and functional dependency; the interior centres

too developed under the shadow of the two ports. The geo-political factors however heavily favoured the development of Singapore at the expense of Penang. The inter-play of forces placed Singapore as the leading centre only a decade after its foundation. It rapidly grew to become the primate city of the country.

The situation in Trengganu and Kelantan perhaps reflect what could have been the pattern of urban development throughout the Malayan peninsula but for the colonial-immigrant complex, exploiting to the full the tin resources. The East Coast was not entirely free from the impact of the colonial-immigrant complex. Through lack of minerals, it was spared the full force of the colonial-immigrant onslaught, and the development was visibly more traditional than foreign, more agricultural than mining orientated. Physical isolation and inadequate transportation facilities made it more difficult to be integrated into the mainstream of economic development. Development of the urban sub-system was natural.

The story of the evolution of the urban system in Malaya is thus one of isolated and disconcerted development of individual centres and non-development of the indigenous system in the past, and the rapid development of urban centres and formation of an urban system during the last two hundred years. The driving force has been that released by the colonial-immigrant complex.

II

This then is what the following chapters set out to examine. It remains, for this Introduction to concern itself briefly with (i) the

systems approach in urban studies, (ii) some points to be borne in mind in understanding the evolution of urban system in Malaya and (iii) the question why the colonial-immigrant complex, which has been attributed to generating the present-day urban system in the country, did not set off a process of urbanization and bring about the formation of an urban system based on the traditional settlements.

An urban system is defined as a set of nodes, represented by the urban centres, and linked by transport networks in a space-economy. Treating the urban centres as elements of a set has the advantage of understanding the spatial and functional relationships of the centres as a whole, for they do interact with varying degrees of intimacy between and among themselves, particularly within the space-economy. This approach is borrowed from systems analysis which some geographers deem could form a valuable basis for geographical studies.[1]

The systems approach has its roots in the General Systems Theory, the concepts of which have been extended into geography. A system is described as '...a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and their attributes'.[2] Systems fall into two categories: the Closed System and the Open System, each with different attributes.[3]

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(1) Harvey, D. (1969), Explanation in Geography, E. Arnold, pp.448-9.
(2) Hall, A.D. and Fagen, R.E. (1956), 'Definition of System', General Systems Year Book, I, pp.18-28.
(3) Closed system has definable boundaries across which no exchange of energy occurs. In open system, the opposite condition exists. See Haggett, P. (1965), Locational Analysis in Human Geography, London, pp.17-19. More to the point, the basic distinction between the two is that open system is able to interact with the environment, while the closed system is not. See Herbert, D. (1972), Urban Geography: A Social Perspective, David and Charles, p.279.

The nodal region in human geography with its set of objects (towns, villages, farms, etc.) related through circulating movements, and energy inputs coming through the biological and social needs of community, can be considered as constituting a system. With rare expectations, systems of cities are open systems. Berry contends that the cities and sets of cities are systems suspectible of the same kinds of analysis as systems and characterized by the generalizations, constructs and models.[1]

The 'systems' idea is, as Haggett suggests, implicit in most central-place theory. The systems approach attaches great importance to two concepts: that the urban centres are conceived as the crucial points in the space-economy and that 'all centres in a region exist as part of a system such that the effects of social and economic change rebound among them'.[2] The closeness' of urban centres and the space-economy has been emphasized. Friedmann defined the cities as a series of over-lapping, interdependent networks in which one affected the others. And within the organization of economic activities the urban centres are the centres of activity and of innovation, focal points of the transport network, locations, of superior accessibility, and they form into a system of cities arranged in an hierarchy according to the functions performed by each and surrounding each of the cities in the system are

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(1) Berry, B.J.L. (1964), 'Cities as Systems Within Systems of Cities', Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, 13, p.161.
(2) Hodge, G. (1968), 'Urban Structure and Regional Development', The Regional Science Association Papers, Vol. 21, p.102.

corresponding areas of urban influence or urban fields.[1]

Berry and Horton advanced the idea of 'urban environment'[2] and suggested that as the endowment changed so did the urban system. This had the effect of generating further changes in final demand in a circular and cumulative sequence in which causes merged into consequences and consequences became causes. Thus it was no longer possible to distinguish the natural from the man-made.[3]

The systems approach has been widely adopted by geographers in their studies of cities and towns. McNulty, drawing his experiences from Ghana, suggested that the urban system was inextricably bound to developments in the space economy. He felt that the growth of urban centres, where social and economic activities were concentrated should be viewed as an integral part of the changing socio-economic life of the area.[4] McGee, deriving from his studies of Southeast Asian cities, emphasized recently that "...cities are simply a reflection of a wider socio-economic system, and within the interest of the under-developed world, each country has been shaped and mould by penetration of other

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(1) Friedmann, J. (1969), Region Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela, The M.I.T. Press.

(2) 'Urban environment' was put forward and defined by Perloff as 'a contained (but not closed) highly inter-related system (or subsystem) of natural and man-made elements in various mixes' which in turn produces the 'urban resource endowment'. Cited in Berry, B.J.L. and Horton, F.E. (1970), (eds.) Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, Prentice-Hall, p.21.

(3) Ibid.

(4) McNulty, M.L. (1969), 'Urban Structure and Development: The Urban System of Ghana', The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. III, pp.159-76.

socio-economic systems."[1] This was echoed in Carter's study of the growth of the Welsh city systems.[2] The Russian geographers, with different emphasis, regarded the system of urban places as 'a kind of economic-geographic structure'. They suggested that the city-forming basis of systems of urban places was to be found in integral territorial-production complexes whose character (size, type of specialization, degree of concentration of production, etc.) determined the basic structural characteristics of such system.[3] Mabogunje viewed cities as essentially the points of articulation of an economic system. The efficient functioning of cities, according to him, is circumscribed by the detail characteristics of the economic system, its productive capacity, its transport system and technology, and the general level of income of the populace. From this he derived that ideally every economic system should generate its own appropriate system of cities.[4] Berry sums up the triangular relationship: the most immediate part of the environment of any city is the other cities, and for the systems of cities, the most immediate environment is the socio-economy of which

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(1) McGee, T.G. (1971), The Urbanization Process in the Third World, London, p.18.
(2) Carter, H. (1969), The Growth of the Welsh City System, University of Wales Press, and Carter, H. (1972), The Study of Urban Geography, Edward Arnold, Chapter III.
(3) Blazhko, N.I., Voskoboynikova and Gurevich, B.L. (1969), 'Systems of Urban Places', Soviet Geography: Review and Translation, Vol. X, No. 7, p.365.
(4) Mabogunje, A.L. (1968), Urbanization in Nigeria, University of London Press, p.22.

they are a part.[1]

Smailes, on the other hand, stresses that urban systems are the products of long and complex historical development, and that their constitution is not deducible from a prior assumption.[2]

Whilst views, emphasis and indeed definitions may differ, the system approach to urban study, bringing it more in line with the contemporary modes of scientific thought, is being increasingly accepted as a better way to unravel the complexity of the growth process, the typology and the interdependence of the urban centres perceived as spatial systems.

Various aspects of the systems of cities have been studied. Berry has examined some of the ways in which our understanding of cities and sets of cities (in short, urban systems) has been enhanced.[3] He has also explored the relationship between regional economic development and the urban system.[4] In separate contributions, Blazhko (with his colleagues) and Smailes, deal with the structure and the components of the systems[5] from different angles, while McNulty, in addition to studying the structure, traces also the development of the system.[6]

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(1) Berry, B.J.L. (1964), op.cit. p.161.
(2) Smailes, A. E. (1971), 'Urban Systems', Institute of British Geographers, Transactions, No.53, p.1 and foot-note 2, p.12.
(3) Berry, B.J.L. (1964), op.cit.
(4) Berry, B.J.L. (1969), 'Relationships between Regional Economic Development and the Urban System', TESG, LX, No.5, pp.283-307.
(5) Blazhko, N.I., Gurevich, B.L. (1969), 'Structural Mathematical Analysis of Systems of Urban Places', Soviet Geography Review and Translation, Vol. X, No. 7, pp.374-83, Smailes, E.A. (1971), op.cit.
(6) McNulty, M.L. (1969), op.cit.

Others focus on the nature, growth, basic dimensions, diffusion, etc., of the urban systems.[1] The present study is concerned with the evolutionary process of the formation of the urban system.

III

The urban system of a country evolved from and operated within the context of her cultural-history, socio-political institutions, transport and economic developments. The urban system in Malaya was subject to the operation of the colonial economy.

The imposition of the colonial economic order and its impact on spatial integration were thus the determining factors throughout the development of the urban system. In the absence of a traditional system of cities, the colonial space-economy were both causes and consequences of the urban system in Malaya. The urban system as it is today is yet to shake off the uneven structure imprinted by the colonial economy.

The colonial origins and subsequent development of the urban centres are, therefore, important to bear in mind in understanding the evolution of the urban system in Malaya. Another factor which should be taken into account in this connection is that, apart from the colonial

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(1) See for instance Berry, B.J.L. and Horton, F.E. (1970), op.cit. Chapter II, pp.20-35, and Chapter VI, pp.150-168 and Carter, H. (1969), op.cit., and Hudson, J.C. (1969), 'Diffusion in Central Place System', Geographical Analysis, Vol. No. 1., pp.45-58.

ports, most of the important urban centres during the early stage were orginated from mining settlements. This was closely tied to the nature of the colonial economy, and it was significant for the later urban development.

The importance of the mining origin of the centres and their subsequent growth are twofold. First, the towns which evolved from mining settlements did not perform central functions. The raison d'etre of those towns were not central places but special functions with peculiar locational demands. The regulating forces suggested by the central place theory (or the rank-size rule) were inoperative in determining the size, spacing and distribution of the centres, in the early phase of the evolution of the urban system. Secondly, the urban landscape was dominated by a single type of economic activity. During the early stage, it had the common feature of unplanned hurriedly-built huts, a rapid growth of male immigrant population, a measure of 'floating' conditions and an atmosphere diffused by impermanency.

It was not until the settlements were accorded with the administrative functions that there was any element of stability, let alone permanency. It was not until the introduction of such facilities as communications that the settlements had relations with their neighbours. There was thus little impetus towards the development of trade other than what was required for the immediate needs of the mining community. Until such conditions prevailed, the mining area presented a monotonous

urban landscape, without rank-size stratification and lacking overall regional centre.

The mining origin of the settlements has had both immediate and long-term effects on the evolution of the urban system. In the early stages of urban settlements the mining areas were characterized by the fluctuation of centres and a constant shift in the relative importance of the centres. In spite of the long period of 'settling down' and 'sorting out' set in motion by the requirements of an integrated spatial economy, the special circumstances of the origin of the settlements continue to be very much in evidence.

Throughout the long evolutionary process the mining origin made itself felt in many aspects. As the tin-ores were found in places away from the traditionally well-settled regions, the mining settlements exhibited elements typical of 'frontier' settlements; the 'exhaustive' and 'mobile' nature of the mining agglomerations created an impermanent pattern of settlements which bore little relationship with the hinterland. While the incomplete socio-economic structure of some of the settlements and the lopsided demographic composition of the mining community presented obstacles to the achievement of full urban status, the settlements with rich and long-lasting mines could, however, develop rapidly into fast growing centres, once 'anchored' on the locations (when they required the administrative and commercial functions and communication facilities). Most of the interior centres of importance in Malaya had experienced such

'success' stories in the early stage. They had thrived on rich resources and their rate of growth put them in the forefront of urban development. Consequently, they were able to maintain their high position in the hierarchical order.

Mining origin apart, there are other factors contributing to the "distorted" development of the urban system. Social, physical and military elements all played a role at various stages.

The structure of the urban system for instance is one in which the well developed and integrated section of the system lies outside the originally densely settled areas of the country. This 'anomalous' structure should be viewed in terms of the traditional settlements of the Malay population failing to develop into modern urban centres and in the context of the colonial-immigrant origin of such centres. Unlike the experience in the mining areas of Western Europe,[1] Malaya did not undergo transformation from the traditional villages to extractive agglomerations, which in turn developed into modern centres. As such, the strongest nodes or set of nodes of the urban system reflect the concentration of the immigrants and the colonial economy.

The geography of the country also presents physical barriers to the natural development of the system. This system developed well in

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(1) c.f. Jackson, R.T. (1968), 'Mining Settlements in Western Europe: The Landscape and the Community', in Beckinsale, R.P. and Houston, J.M. Urbanization and its Problems, Oxford, p.151.

in the tin-and-rubber belt along the west coast while in the east coast regional sub-systems developed with only marginal links with the main system. The fishery and agriculture-based urban subsystems of the east coast strongly contrast with the main body of the system in the tin-and-rubber belt of the west coast. By virtue of its proximity to this zone, the traditional settlement areas of the north-west manifests a greater measure of integration with the main system. Efforts have no doubt been made since independence to rectify the imbalance in the urban system but the force of historical inertia continues to be felt.

The establishment in the early 1950s of the Resettlement of the 'New Village' scheme at the height of the period of Communist insurgency is another element to be kept in mind in understanding the distortion of the evolution of the urban system. The Resettlement scheme involved the physical movement of half a million people from isolated rural locations into compact and closely guarded settlements. Over four hundred 'new villages'[1] were thus created. The scheme has tranformed the settlement landscape of the country. By re-housing the dispersed Chinese peasant farmers into the new settlements, the Resettlement scheme succeeded to some extent in converting the great stretches of the Malayan countryside (where once only isolated farmsteads existed)

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(1) Hamzah Sendut (1962), 'The Resettlement Villages in Malays', Geography, Vol. 47, Part 1, p.41.

into the landscape of new towns and villages.[1] Most of these new towns and villages were, to facilitate military supervision, located along major roads, others were within easy distance of the existing settlements or on the periphery of old townships. The consequences of the Resettlement scheme in relation to urban development express themselves in the increase of the number of new towns; the 'elevation' of some of the villages to urban status; the enlargement of some old towns. The scheme also brought about greater urbanization both in areas and population (mainly the immigrant component) without a corresponding increase in agricultural support, and the pre-mature emergence of conurbation.

The creation of the new towns or the newly 'promoted' towns had yet another effect on the urban system. The hierarchical order and the distribution of towns, which are crucial to the central place theory were disturbed.

One might thus sum up that, notwithstanding the existence of isolated trade centres dating back to the early centuries, Malaya lacked a traditional urban system prior to the colonial-immigrant days, and the urban centres which provided the scaffolding for the present day urban system had their genesis in the colonial ports and the mining settlements. These centres were not formed in response to the social and economic needs of the indigenous population. They were a foreign creation in a landscape originally barrenof urban settlements. Their

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(1) Dobby, E.H.G. (1952), 'Resettlement Transforms Malaya: A Case-History of Relocating the Population of an Asian Plural Society', E.D. & C.C., Vol., p.168.

appearance and subsequent development stifled the possibility of the kampong settlements transforming into urban centres. Those which underwent transformation successfully became part of the urban system but without much significance in the entire structure. Those areas which did not feel or were late in feeling the full impact of the forces set in motion by colonial development and immigrant activities succeeded in only evolving a set of towns forming a weak sub-system in the shadow of the main system. The colonial and mining beginnings and the framework of a plural society under colonial rule, led to a highly uneven development within the urban system. It also resulted in the development of the system being lopsided within the country.

'Modern Malaya', asserts Purcell, 'is in the main the joint creation of British and Chinese enterprise!'[1] The same could be said of the urban system of the country.

Granting that the colonial-immigrant complex was indeed the driving force behind the evolution of the urban system, it may still be asked: why the same force, imposed upon the Malay society, did not succeed in bringing about urbanization and the formation of an urban system with the traditional settlements as its core?

Theoretically, it could. The actual development, however, proved to be different. The colonial economy, based heavily on mining enterprise and later commercial plantation, relied on the immigrant instead of the

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(1) Purcell, V. (1967), The Chinese in Malaya, Singapore, p.vi.

indigenous, population as its labour forces. And areas of intensive economic activities were, by physical constraints and human design, spatially separated from localities of traditional settlements. As a result, the urbanizing process was largely confined to areas where colonial and immigrant enterprises concentrated, and the traditional society was 'by-passed' or left out. The 'secondary urbanization', as expected in a peasant society, through contact with 'urbanizing' cultures, did not take place in its original sense, at least in the 'core area' of the country.

This is not to imply that the traditional society was insulated from the impact of the colonial-immigrant spatial economy. The weakening and disintegration of the Malaya political powers began when large number of immigrant-miners set foot on the mainland, and was speeded up when the turbulence caused by the warring immigrant groups in their struggle for the control of mines and the sharing of profits intensified. The socio-economic fabric of the traditional society too had been 'eroded'. The original society which was communally and economically self-sufficient,[1,2] was gave way to one which became part of an economic system of exchange much larger than its immediate community.

The point to be stressed here is that with the development of the colonial-immigrant economy (which required more administrative centres,

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(1) Dobby, E.H.G. (1958), Southeast Asia (sixth edition), London, p.128.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1951), 'The Negri Sembilan Economy of the 1890's', JMBRAS, XXIV, 1951, p.55.

nodal points, communication lines and a continuous influx of immigrants), a plural society[1] emerged. A triangular situation developed in which the colonial and the immigrant elements and social orders (these elements overlapped spatially and interacted more closely) combined to produce what essentially became the 'urban' sector of the society, while the traditional areas were left out of the main stream of the economic progress and remained 'rural'. Indeed, some parts of the traditional areas were 'choked' by the colonial-immigrant elements, in terms of urban development.

The situation of Negri Sembilan is a case in point. A large number of the population of N. Sembilan claimed descent from Minangkabau immigrants.[2] Some of the Malay chiefs were among the most successful traders there in the middle of the last century and the retail trade in towns and villages was still in the hands of the Sumatran Malays up to about 1890.[3] N. Sembilan was however, also one of the main centres of Chinese tin-mining,[4] The Chinese traders, following the miners, moved inland and gained ground so rapidly that it was decided in 1897 to remove them from the Malay villages and to concentrate them in their own

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(1) Furnivall, J.S. (1944), Netherlands India, (second edition), Cambridge, p.446. Furnivall defines a plural society as 'a society comprising one or more elements or social orders which live side by side yet without mingling, in one political unit'.
(2) De Josselin de Jong, P.E. (1951), Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, Leiden, p.178.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1951), op.cit. p.53.
(4) Newbold, T.J. (1839), Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, two Vols., London, p.94.

villages. Soon the 'Chinese trade centres' were to appear in contrast to the 'Malay agricultural settlements'.[1] At the same time, the tin mines in Sungei Ujong also prompted the colonial authorities to build a road to replace the river waterway, and then a railway to link Port Dickson and Seremban. While Seremban was on its way to become the state capital and a large Chinese town, and Port Dickson a colonial port the Malay bullock carts which plied the road were immediately put out of business.[2] The once self-sufficient Malay society now found itself being "squeezed" from both sides, though safe from physical encroachment. Gullick observes that 'There was no manufacturing industry of any kind...If there had ever been a cottage textile industry it had vanished; all cloth was imported'.[3]

Negri Sembilan was one of the key states in the 'tin and rubber belt' and was relatively 'urbanized'. But the Malay society, such as the one in Jelebu, remained rural. Lack of economic specialization and organization was obvious. Swift discovers that the Malays did not have a place in the simple marketing and processing of their primary products.[4] Thus, the Malay civilization might be 'very much a trading one',[5]

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1951), op.cit. pp.53-4.
(2) Ibid. p.52.
(3) Ibid. p.54.
(4) 'Rural Malay society exports primary products to the rest of Malaya and imports consumption goods. All economic functions other than primary production are carried on by other races, above all by the Chinese'. Swift, M.G. (1965), Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu, London, p.28.
(5) Ibid.

the traditional society had largely failed to develop a web of trading centres linked by communication lines such as that emerged in Java.[1]

With the exception of the northern part and northeastern coast of the country, such an elaborate marketing system, and above all, the domination of the indigenous population in the functioning of the system, did not figure significantly in economic structure of the Malay society. (Even when it did exist as in Trengganu and Kelantan, the scale of such system was much smaller and less elaborate, and the indigenous control far from absolute.)

Clearly the situation of the Malay society was far from conducive to urban development. Such a situation was by no means confined to N. Sembilan, for throughout the country, the traditional society was characterised by its 'ruralness', with the kampong dominating the settlement landscape. 'Indeed', Fisher observes, after the colonial rule had become a thing of the past, 'in the strict sense of the term there are no indigenous Malay towns, and even the traditional state capitals are little more than overgrown villages'.[2] The 'real' towns and cities on the other hand bear vividly the imprint of the colonial-

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(1) In Java 'Most of the internal trade is carried on through the native markets, or pasars, which form a network linking rural villages to their local town markets and town markets to each other and the city markets. Imported and factory-made goods consumed by the peasant population are also handled by these markets. While certain aspects of wholesaling and certain products are handled by Chinese (and to a lesser extent Arabs and Indians)', See Dewey, A.G. (1962), Peasant Marketing in Java, The Free Press of Glencoe, pp.3-4.

(2) Fisher, C.A. (1966), South-east Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography, London.

immigrant complex.

By and large, the Malays were self-supporting rice farmers and fisher men. Economic exchange between groups and communities was limited because of self-sufficiency and lack of specialization, as well as difficulties of movement. Winstedt suggests that:

> 'The Malay failure to specialize was due firstly to his isolation in village communities encircled by forest and too small to maintain the specialist, and secondly it was due to bountiful nature that made livelihood easy. The pirate, the fisherman, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the weaver, the medicine-man were also rice-planters in season. Only the luxury demands of the few courts encouraged a more complete specialization in weaving metal-work and the forging of weapons, crafts that became obsolete or waned before foreign competition.'[1]

The Malay society at this stage was undoubtedly 'based upon self-sufficiency at the cost of economic progress';[2] the kind of marketing system based on internal trade, carried out by the indigenous population as developed in Java, was sadly missing.

These circumstances provided the immigrant groups the initial opportunity to operate with a greater degree of freedom. Had the Malay society developed a web of trading centres and interior towns, some 'anchor' points could have been afforded for the colonial spatial economy to operate. Admittedly, the colonial economy did not operate for the advancement of the indigenous population, and a new spatial

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(1) Winstedt, R. (1950), The Malays: A Cultural History (revised edition), London, p.135.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1951), op.cit. p.55.

framework had to be imposed. However, if located at important nodal points within the spatial transportation network, some of traditional centres were likely to be integrated or 'rejuvenated' as in Java and Nigeria,[1] by the colonial space-economy. The urban system thus evolved would not be the creation of the colonial and immigrant elements, culturally and spatially foreign to the traditional society. As it was, the traditional society did not provide an existing framework, and the immigrants and the colonialists took full advantage of the 'vacuum' to start afresh, by-passing the indigenous society.

On the other hand, but for the great influx of the immigrants, the traditional society could have, though latterly, adjusted itself to the new economic order. It might have developed urban centres of its own in contrast to the colonial ports and administrative centres or centres of 'dual' character, with colonial and indigenous elements juxtapositioned in the same locality. As it was, the immigrants, who not only flooded the mining districts and plantations, but also spilled over the traditional society. They trust into their own hands trading and other economic activities. The belated activities of economic exchange and urban development by indigenous efforts were thus held in check.[2]

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(1) See Mabogunje, A.L. (1968), Urbanization in Nigeria, London; and by the same author (1970), 'Urbanization and Change', The African Experience, Vol. 1, Evanston, pp.340-346.

(2) Dobby is right in saying that there was no significant displacement of the old settlement by the new or the indigenous by the foreign'. It is however, arguable to suggest that the opening up of mines did not produce an economic struggle between the miners and farmers. For with the miners came the traders and indeed many miners later turned traders who dominated the economic scene in both immigrant and traditional areas. For Dobby's remarks, see Dobby, E.H.G. (1958), op.cit. p.130.

The immigrant element, therefore, was as important as the colonial element, in the making of the modern towns and cities in Malaya. Unwittingly it might have played an even more important role in hindering the traditional society from developing its urban centres, for it served the purpose of the colonial economy more efficiently.

The urban system of modern Malaya is thus very much a product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

If an urban system is to be defined as a set of nodes, represented by the urban centres, and linked by the transport and communication networks in the space-economy, it can be said that the traditional society on the Malay peninsula had never in the past evolved such a system, and the present-day urban system is in the main the product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

The existence of a number of urban centres and especially the appearances of the prosperous city-state of Kedah and the international imporium of Malacca, tended to give an exaggerated impression of the degree of urbanization on the peninsula during the pre-European days. It is easy to over-look that in the region of Southeast Asia in the pre-European period, urban development, apart from the capital cities, was relatively unimportant. And only the major kingdoms could afford to build or to maintain large cities.[1] As far as urban development is concerned, the Malay peninsula, notwithstanding its favourable position in relation to the trade routes, had more than a fair share of the impediments, both physical and human, to content with.

To illustrate the impediments the peninsula encountered, it is intended to trace the rise and fall of the Kedah, Malacca and to a lesser extent, Johore. In terms of time scale these kingdoms cover

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), South-east Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Georgraphy, (second edition), London, p.86.

a long period from early civilization to the eve of European colonialization of the peninsula; within the political spectra, they represented respectively, a city-state, a commercial empire and a riverine power.

Individual Centres

The distinction between the urban system and the individual towns and cities should be emphasized at the outset. To state that Malay peninsula lacked traditional urban system is not to deny the existence of towns and cities in the traditional societies. The opposite, in fact is the truth. Indeed, during the early period of civilization, or 'the Isthmian Age', there were many settlements on almost every coastal plain and river estuary from the extreme north of the peninsula southwards to Kedah. It has been described by a distinguished historical geographer, Paul Wheatley, as 'the Age of the City-State'.[1] Some of the city-states lay outside the present boundary of Malaya.

To place the 'city-state' in its proper perspective, a note of caution should be added here that the term does not infer the idea of the Greek city-states. As pointed out by Sjoberg, some of the Greek city-states, such as Athens, functioned as 'empires', exercising domination over a sizeable hinterland and some farflung cities.[2] Such is not the case with the Malay Peninsula. It would be more appropriate

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(1) See Wheatley, P. (1966), The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before A.D. 1500, Kuala Lumpur, p.326.

(2) Sjoberg, G. (1965), The Preindustrial City: Past and Present, The Free Press, pp.69-71.

to think of the Malay Peninsula city-states in terms of Kingsley Davis' initial city-states as urban-centred units conditioned by the difficulty of communication and transport.[1] Wheatley also admits that although the seed of federation may have been present in the city-states of Kedah, Kalah, Takola, Langkasuka and especially the quintuple organization of Tun-sun, 'there is no record of one state ever bringing the whole isthmain tract under its rule'.[2] He attributes this partly to the broken fragments of the terrain, and the limited extent of the padiland restricted further by the swampy nature of much of the lowland. He emphatically concludes that there is no evidence whatever to suggest of 'one isthmain state establishing a permanent hegemony over its neighbours'.[3] This points to the existence of the separate urban units with no indication of spatial interaction between and among themselves.

During later dates, the appearances of Kedah, Malacca, Tamasek, to name a few, again bear witness to the fact that important urban centres flourished in the peninsula. The point being emphasized is that these and other centres were largely separated by space and time. They functioned more as unitary cities or towns, each with a limited hinterland, independent of others. The interaction between the centre

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(1) Davis, K. (1955), 'The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World', American Journal of Sociology, LX, p.431.
(2) Wheatley, P. (1966), op.cit. p.326.
(3) Ibid. pp.326-7.

and the region to which it belonged, was negligible. Comparatively few in number and far between, these centres did not form into an organic entity.

Malaya has relatively little to record prior to the fifteenth century, notwithstanding its being situated in the midst of a region rich in historical associations.[1] Expectedly, evidence of early urbanization in the country is scanty.[2] Wheatley's work indisputably provides us with a rich mine of information regarding the historical geography of the peninsula. However, as far as urban development is concerned, the evidence is still inadequate to establish that Malaya had ever experienced to a recognizable extent what is known as the Primary Urbanization. This notion refers to a situation where the pre-civilized folk society was transformed by urbanization into a peasant society and correlated urban centres. Here the folk more or less shared a common culture which remained as the matrix of the urban culture.[3] During this stage, 'Initiation of primary processes of urbanization is associated with the development of centralized social, religions and political controls in previously non-urbanized societies'.[4] Unlike mainland Southeast Asia and Java, such situation was not evident

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.583.
(2) See Hamzah Sendut (1964), 'Urbanization', in Wang Gungwu, Malaysia: A Survey, London, p.82.
(3) Redfield, R. and Singer, M.B. (1954/5), 'The Cultural Role of Cities', E.D. & C.C., 3, No. 3, p.278.
(4) Berry, B.J.L. (1962), 'Urban Growth and the Economic Development of Ashanti' in Pitts, R.F. (ed.), , Urban Systems and Economic Development, Oregan, p.53.

in the Malay peninsula. Early Malaya seems more akin to folk societies which 'incorporated into states and nations as regionally specialized subcultures which do not undergo urbanization at all and which are adapted rather than transformed'.[1]

Nor did the phase of 'Secondary Urbanization' developed in a readily recognized form. During this phase of development, the folk society was further urbanized through contact with peoples of different cultures resulting in the weakening of the traditional cultures.[2] Secondary processes of urbanization were believed to assert themselves when an integrated system of cities develops usually under the influence of forces external to local culture.[3] Different parts of the Malay peninsula were, at various periods of time, subject to different cultural contacts. The society at large was however, not rapidly or drastically urbanized. When urbanization began to gather momemtum on a large scale in the second half of the last century, it was not the traditional society which was being urbanized. The 'urbanizing cultures' represented by the immigrants and the Europeans by and large developed spatially away from the traditional communities.

It may be argued that apart from Kedah, Tamasek and Malacca, urban centres such as Klang, Kuala Trengganu, the various towns of the Johore

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(1) Steward, J.H. (1963), Theory of Culture Change, University of Illinois Press, p.53.
(2) Redfield, R. and Singer, M.B. (1954/5), op.cit. pp.61-63.
(3) Berry, B.J.L. (1962), op.cit. p.54.

kingdom, the kuala settlements on the east coast or the coastal sites on Malacca Straits, constitute at least facets of urbanization prior to or on the eve of the colonial-immigrant influence on the traditional society. However, these centres did not form a continuing and correlated process of urbanizing development. Collectively they did not provide a base on which later urban system could build its structural frame. It is thus argued that the present-day urban system in the country is far from being a product of the progressive change from the primary urbanization to a modern one. The web of socio-economic transactions and communications which tied the elements of centres into a system did not take shape until the large scale arrival of the immigrants and the establishment of the British rule. Traditional Malay society therefore lacked the hierarchical system of economic centres. It did not produce the standard market towns as in the premodern agrarian China.[1] Nor did it witness the emergence of the pre-European system of towns and cities as in the case of Nigeria.[2]

Ancient Centres: Raison Dêtre and Restraints

The existence of numerous urban centres and the lack of a traditional urban system in the Malay peninsula inevitably raises the question 'why'? A host of factors may account for the paradox. Of which the favourable

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(1) Skinner, G.W. (1964), 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China', Part I, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp.3-5.
(2) Mabogunje, A.L. (1968), Urbanization in Nigeria, London, Chapters III & IV.

geographical position and the internal weakness, both physical and human, of the peninsula are of paramount importance.

The peninsula served from the early days as a causeway and breakwater.[1] The seasonal monsoon helped make it an ideal place for break-of-journey for the sea-borne traffic between East and West and the mainland and insular Southeast Asia:

> 'The Malaya peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago had been destined from time immemorial to play an important role as a transition area for products of East and West, and a meeting ground for merchants coming from all direction'.[2]

During the early centuries of the Christian era, when Funan, and later, the Khmers on the Indo-China peninsula added to the attraction of trade, the traders apparently preferred to across the isthmus rather than risk the route through the straits of Malacca.[3] This presumably helped create the city-states in the isthmian region during 'the Isthmian Age'. With the decline of Funan and the political power in Southeast Asia shifting to the south, the land routes were less used and the sea-borne trade traffic around the Malay peninsula greatly increased. After the seventh century, the Sri Vijaya, based on Palembang, under its Sailendra dynasty was described as 'made up of

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(1) Skeat, W.W. and Bladgen, C.O. (1960), Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol. 1, p.1.

(2) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), Asian Trade and European Influences in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500-1630, The Hague, p.13.

(3) Tarling, N. (1968), A Concise History of Southeast Asia, F.A. Praeger, p.11.

a conferation of trading ports on the fringe of the primeval forest'.[1] When Majapahit claimed supremacy over other states in the late fourteenth century in eastern Java, the gravity of trade in Southeast Asia moved further south. And the East-West trade traffics called on ports more frequently on both sides of the peninsula as well as Tumasik, the ancient Singapore. The rise of Malacca kingdom in the fifteenth century provided for the first time a first-rank political power based on the peninsula and attracted to it the trade of the archipelago and entrepot trade between the East and West. Never before had the Malay peninsula been afforded such an excellent opportunity to nurture a network of urban centres which could have furnished a framework for the traditional urban system to operate. However, the much-hoped for development did not materialise, as will be seen later.

Thus, the raison d'etre of the urban centres, made up of trading ports and coastal settlements, was obvious. Most of these centres came into existence by virtue of their favourable geographical position as midway stations of the mainly sea-borne trade. Local trading activities in the early days in Southeast Asia too had contributed to the establishment of the coastal settlements, although these settlements might be less important and inpermanent in nature. Being favourably located, the peninsula also benefited from the changing conditions of the political and human situation in the region. Meilink-Roelofsz observed that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the southwards movement of people

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(1) Wheatley, P. (1961), The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500, Kuala Lumpur, p.298.

and the disintegration of Sri Vijaya, had helped produce 'a loose string of rather isolated trading ports scattered along the fringe of vast areas of tropical jungle...'[1]

These, then, explain the emergence of the numerous settlements on the peninsula from early Christian era. Some of them were apparently important enough to be described as towns or cities in the context of the time of their existence. It does not serve our purposes to list the names or to chronicle the appearance of these settlements. The following paragraph is merely intended to show the time scale and the spatial extension within which these settlements appeared.

Takola, Sabana, Kole and Palanda were mentioned in Ptolemy's book (and maps) in the second century. The first two were described as trading ports and the last two, towns.[2] Although controversy as regards the exact location of these settlements still lingers on, it has been generally accepted that they were located on the peninsula.[3] Chinese sources also identify settlements near Tendong and Kuantan which traded with China.[4] Between the seventh and thirteenth centuries,

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(1) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit. p.17.
(2) Linehan, W. (1951), 'The identification of some of Ptolemy's Place-Names in the Golden Khersonese', JMBRAS, Vol. 24, Part III, pp.86-98.
(3) The location of Takola has not been satisfactorily identified. Takuapa had been suggested as possible sites. See Braddell, R. (1950), 'Notes on Ancient times in Malaya', JMBRAS, Vol. 23, Part III. Sabana was identified by Linehan to be located at the site of present day Klang. Utilising Chinese sources, Paul Wheatley believes Kole was situated near the estuary of Kuantan river. Palanda is thought to be the present day Kota Tinggi.
(4) Tan Tan was mentioned in 梁書, 新唐書 and 太平寰宇記, located near today's Tendong on the bank of River Kelantan. Koli 拘利 was variously known as 九稚, 勾稚, 九離, 句稚 which according to Wheatley, could well have been Kole, at the mouth of Kuantan river.

settlements in Kelantan, Trengganu, Pahang, Johore, Singapore, Selangor and Kedah were recorded.[1,2]

As in common with other parts of the archipelagic Malay world, the peninsula were dotted with numerous coastal trading settlements throughout the period prior to the European control. However, in contrast to some parts of Southeast Asia, these settlements did not develop into an indigenous urban system. The key to the problem could be found mainly in the weakness of the internal physique of the Malay peninsula. The lack of a dynamic land-based political empire and the limitation of its human and economic resources, stemmed mainly from this internal weakness.

The major agricultural areas of Southeast Asia from early centuries had been in the regions of the Red River basin, the Menam valley, the central Burma, east and central Java and to a lesser extent, the southern part of Sumatra. It was chiefly these areas which supported the relatively dense and organised population, the richly-developed village life which in turn provided the substructure for aristocratic and bureaucratic kingdoms.[3]

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(1) These include Kelantan (吉蘭丹) located to the southwest of Kota Bharu, Kuala Trengganu, Pekan, Tamasik, Kuala Berang (which is known to the Chinese as Fo-lo-an) and Kedah. See Wong Shi-hok (1959), 'International Trading Ports in Ancient South East Asia', Geographical Journal, No. 2, p.81. (Text in Chinese)

(2) For a fuller account, see among others, Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. and by the same author (1964), 'Desultory Remarks on the Ancient History of the Malay peninsula', in Bastin, J. and Roolvink, R. (1964), (eds), Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Oxford University Press, pp.33-75.

(3) Tarling, N. (1968), op.cit. p.19.

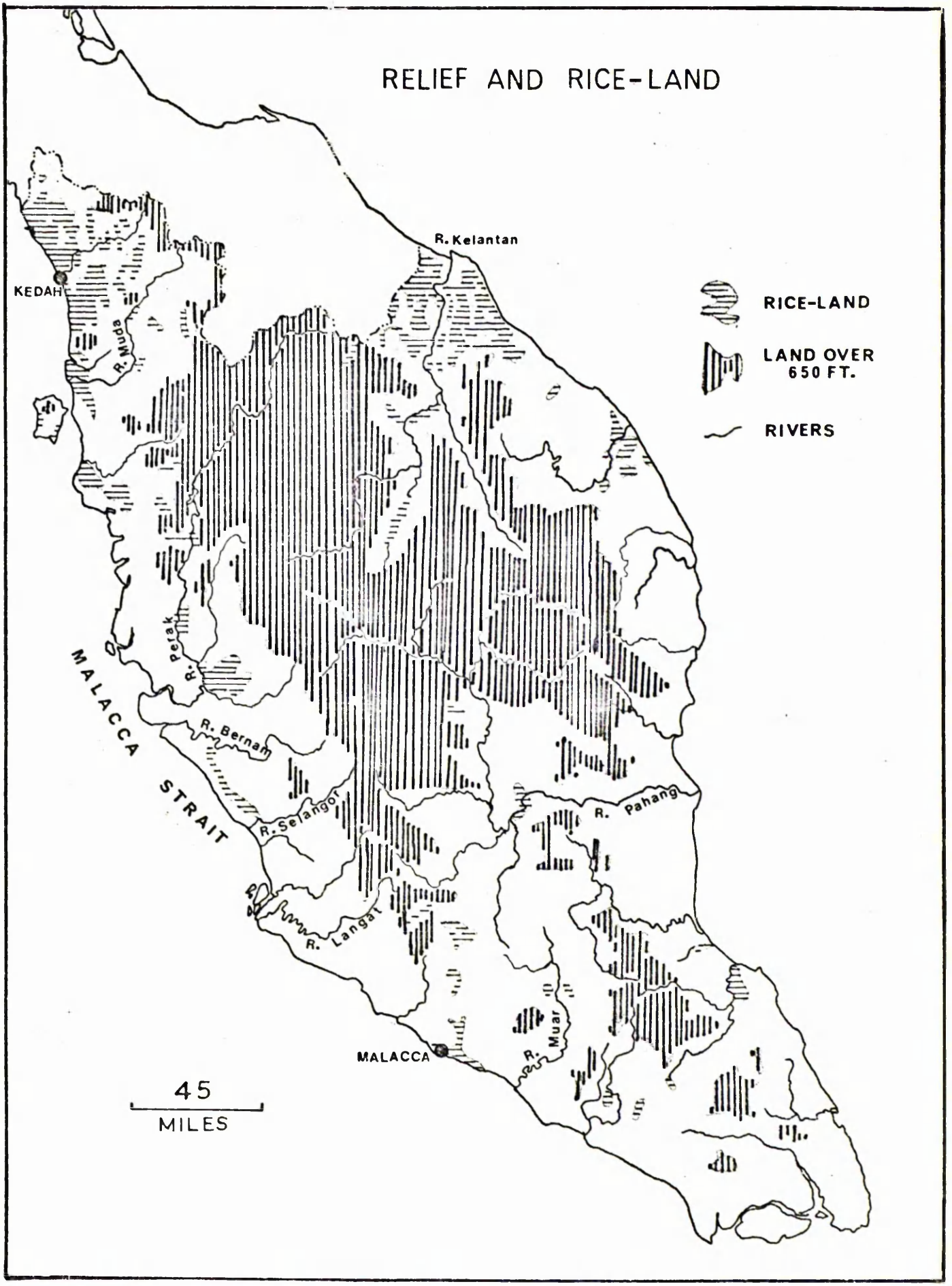
RELIEF AND RICE-LAND
R. Kelantan
KEDAH
R. Muda
R. Perak
MALACCA STRAIT
R. Bernam
R. Selangor
R. Langat
R. Pahang
R. Muar
MALACCA
45
MILES
RICE-LAND
LAND OVER 650 FT.
RIVERS

Fig. I

It should be added that such too was the substructure required for the evolution of an urban system in the traditional society: an advantage of which the Malay peninsula was denied.

The natural environment of the peninsula has been studied in great detail by a number of geographers,[1] suffice it here to emphasize that 'the physique of Malaya has been in no sense exceptionally favourable to human settlement'.[2] Notwithstanding its importance in bridging and controlling human movements in pre-historic times,[3] the interior of peninsula itself had not been settled until the seventh or eighth centuries, except perhaps in the northern lowlands.

Although no part of the peninsula lies over one hundred miles from the coast, movements of people were severely restricted by the alignment of the mountain ranges and the tropical rain forest. Human activities were thus confined to the narrow coastal strips and the riverine lands. Even these areas could not be developed without handicap. While the full force of NE monsoon interrupted productive activities on the east coast, a high proportion of the riverine lands elsewhere were rendered both unhealthy and agriculturally unproductive by the existence of marsh.[4]

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(1) See for instance, Fisher, C.A. (1966), Chapter XVII; Dobby, E.H.G. (1958), Southeast Asia (sixth edition), London, Chapter VI; Ooi Jin-Bee (1963), Land, People and Economy in Malaya, London; Ginsburg, N. and Roberts, C.F. (1958), Malaya, Seattle; Hodder, B.W. (1959), Man in Malaya, London.
(2) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.588.
(3) Ibid. p.590 and Hodder, B.M. (1959), op.cit. p.22.
(4) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.588.

Consequently, the peninsula as a whole had been 'an area of demographic immaturity', with only a few regions being densily settled.[1] And with better agricultural soils peripherally distributed, settlements tended to concentrate in a few relatively favoured lowland areas, widely scattered round the edges of the peninsula.[2]

The retardation of the development of settlement, and later, urbanization, by comparison with development in other areas of Southeast Asia, stems to a large extent from these shortcomings. For the development of political power relied, among other things, on the adequate supply of man-power and the supporting food-producing capacity. While the centres of political power as represented by the various empires alternated between Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and Siam, the history of Malaya, except for a brief spell in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during the Malacca kingdom, 'is more that of its small separate states than of the Peninsula as a whole'.[3]

The absence of the agricultural land and population concentration and thus a lasting political power base controlling over the length and breadth of the peninsula, was at the root of Malaya's inability to evolve an urban system of its own. The point is made clearer by comparing the situation with areas where political power was tenacious. Tracing the

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1950), 'South-east Asia', in East, W.G. and Spate, O.H.K., The Changing Map of Asia, A Political Geography, London, p.235.
(2) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.589.
(3) Kennedy, J. (1970), A History of Malaya, (second edition), London, p.xi.

origin of the traditional urban systems of Southeast Asia, Reed asserts that:

> 'Prior to the period of European colonial expansion in Southeast Asia, both the insular and peninsular portions of the realm were dominated by a succession of aristocratic kingdoms. The essential integrative element in each realm was a sacred city that functioned as a centre of orthogenetic transformation. These urban nuclei, most of which were located in Java or in the river basins of the mainland, served as the inland capitals of territorially based domains...
> 'In terms of general system theory these kingdoms might be conceptualized as nodal regions with rather hazy political boundaries and a single nuleus. The "surface" of each regional system consisted of sawah lands from which the sacred city or primary "node" derived its sustenance. Agricultural surpluses, which accumulated in outlying farms, villages and minor towns, or the lower ranks of the settlement "hierarchy", were delivered to the orthogenetic capital by means of a "network" of inland waterways and a few rudimentary roads. The typical nodal region consisting of a capital city and its hinterland remained essentially a "closed system", as the model kingdom in Southeast Asia was materially self-sufficient, culturally introverted and politically autonomous.
> 'Although the inland cities often maintained markets with international linkages, this did not seem to negate their basic orthogenetic character on the closed-system structure of their tributary kingdoms.'1

This quotation brings into sharp focus the 'ingredients' which went into making the traditional urban systems and of which Malaya was found wanting. In short, the Malay peninsula had not seen a powerful territorially based kingdom with an inland capital city acting as an

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(1) Reed, R.R. (1967), 'The Colonial Origins of Manila and Batavia: Desultory Notes on Nascent Metropolitan Primacy and Urban systems in Southeast Asia', Asian Studies, Vol. V, No. 3, pp.549-51.

orthogenetic centre of a closed system. The 'surface', the agricultural surpluses, the communication network and the settlement hierarchy had all been lacking. Even the kingdom of Malacca was a far cry from the 'model' kingdom which was the source of the traditional urban system in Southeast Asia.

Thus, the peninsula favourably positioned to reap the full advantages of the vigorous regional and international trades to nourish the development of urbanization was constrained by its own physical limitation. Referring to the deficiency of its political power, Fisher observes that 'From the dawn of history until the campaigns of 1941-2 Malaya has repeatedly suffered from the weakness of nodality unsupported by commensurate internal strength'.[1] This too is the key to the paradox of the existence of the urban centres and the lack of a traditional urban system.

The rise and decline of Kedah, Malacca and Johore kingdom, representing a city-state, a first rank political power with an international emporium and an unstable state with successive capitals respectively, will make clear the various aspects of this paradox.

Kedah: A City-State

Kedah was the most ancient state in Malaya.[2] It experienced almost all the historical forces and cultural influence that affected the

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.590.
(2) Braddell, R. (1958), 'Most Ancient Kedah', Malaya in History, IV, ii, p.18.

peninsula.[1] The trading port of Kedah was the largest on the peninsula before the rise of Malacca.[2] But the recorded settlement in Kedah did not date back very early. Using the archaeological evidence as well as the Chinese, Indian and Arab documents Wheatley suggests that the settlements in South Kedah stem from the fifth or sixth century,[3] although some of the earliest Stone Age sites have been uncovered.[4]

The origin of the port of Kedah is still unknown. What is certain is that it attained its apogee as the peninsula node of the Sri Vijaya thalassocrary during the sixth and seventh centuries. It was at this time that it developed into a city-state, and the chief power on the peninsula.[5] It figured prominently in the Chinese records, as one of the important midway station between China, India and Arab countries. It is significant to note that the growth of the city-state-cum-entrepot of Kedah coincided with improved situation of the international trades. In China, a peaceful and stable period of T'ang dynasty had began and expansion of trade was underway. In the Middle East external trade had been stimulated by political stability and economic development under the Baghaad empire. And on the Indian subconinent, the Kanchi-based Pallava dynasty also engaged in an extensive sea trade. The traders of

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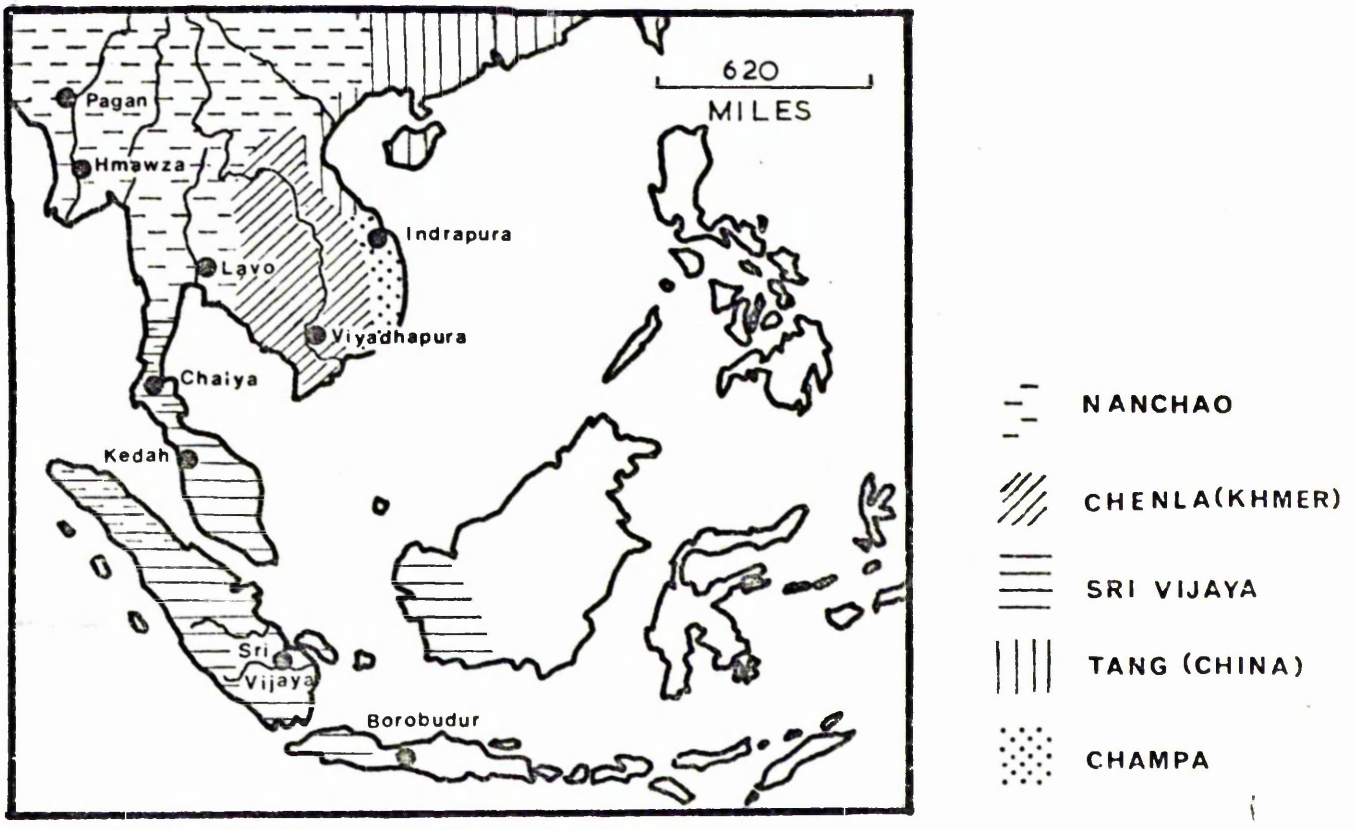
(1) Bonney, R. (1971), Kedah 1771-1822: The Search for Security and Independence, Oxford University Press, p.12.
(2) Chui Kwei Chiang (1971), 'The Ancient Trade in Kedah', Sin Chew Jit Poh, 1st January 1971. (Text in Chinese)

(3) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.280.
(4) Tweedie, M.W.F. (1957), Prehistoric Malaya, Singapore, p.39.
(5) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.280.

Fig. II



KEDAH IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA : MID 8th CENTURY

these countries were active in Kedah which served as midway port of call as well as a safe heaven from the monsoon. From the seventh to the eleventh centuries, Kedah grew increasingly important as an entrepot port

Although the maritime trade with the foreign countries continued till late fourteenth century, Wheatley believes that Kedah's prosperity had passed its zenith by the late eleventh century.[1] The elevation of the city-state to the position of the 'northern capital' of Sri Vijaya, which had initially been a boost to Kedah, commercially and politically, had now became a 'burden'. Kedah was now a target for attack by Sri Vijaya's Indian rivals. However, the entrepot function of Kedah remained. It was strengthened by the decline of the importance of the Kra Isthmus, for Sri Vijaya had wanted to control the Malacca straits and to monopolize the east-west trade. The traders from the Arab countries and China continued to arrive. But Kedah was not alone active in the international trading activities. After replacing Pallava dynasty, the Kingdom of Ghola in southern India also set out to capture the lucrative sea-borne trade.

The intensity of trading activities at Kedah during this period was substantiated by the archaeological finds unearthed along the Merbok

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(1) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.281. One Chinese study, however maintains that in spite of the political decline of the city-state, the period, between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, was the 'golden age' of the history of the port of Kedah. See Chui Kwei Chiang (1971), op.cit.

river.[1] The importance of Kedah as a trading port was further confirmed by the fact that Chola and Sri Vijaya went to war in Kedah for the control of sea trade. Indeed, Kedah was occupied by the invaders from Chola in the year 1025. It is believed that Indian merchants took advantage of this opportunity to extend their trading activities in Kedah.[2]

From the fourteenth century onwards, Kedah's status as a trading port gradually declined. There were a host of contributing factors. The extinction of the Sumatran empire of Sri Vijaya and the rise of Majapahit in east Java had shifted the centre of power and the attraction of trade to the southern area of the islandic portion of Southeast Asia.[3] Tumasik (Singapore) rather than Kedah began to assume the favourite locale for entrepot on the Malay peninsula, before the rise of Malacca. International trade too experienced a period of interruption as a result of changed political situations. The Arabs, being assaulted by the Mongols, were unable to carry on their sea trade on a scale comparable to that conducted during the last two or three centuries. The Indians, taking advantages of this lapse of Arab influence, began to dominate

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(1) Lamp, A. (1967), 'Takuapa: The Probable Site of a Pre-Malacca Entrepot in the Malay Peninsula', in Bastin, J. and Roolvink, R. (1967), (eds), op.cit. p.83, Lamb suggests that the assemblage of wares unearthed in Pengkalan Bujang, on the Merbok Estuary in Kedah can be best explained by the entrepot theory.

(2) Chui Kwei Chiang (1971), op.cit.

(3) Prior to Majapahit, east Java had seen the rise of other kingdom--the Singosari. The coastal areas and the delta were brought under intensive cultivation and over-sea trade was being sought with Malay peninsula, among others. See Hall, D.G.E. (1955), A History of South-east Asia, London, pp.58-60.

the trade in Southeast Asia. But they also developed their own ports such as Bombay and Coli to be the midway stations for the international trade route.[1] The Mongol empire now embrassing China, Korea and a vast area in West Asia, tended to promote land rather than sea-borne trade. When the Mongol empire was replaced by the Ming dynasty, trade between China and Southeast Asia and the West began to increase. But it was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century when Cheng Ho's trading-junks appeared on the scene that Chinese trade again provided an impetus to the merchants from the east and west to converge on the coast of the Malay peninsula. It was then too late for Kedah to reap the fruit of the renewed international exchange. Malacca had become the new centre for the international trade. Kedah thus paled into insignificance.

The rise and decline of Kedah demonstrate the limitations both in space and time, within which the settlement developed. Favourably located at an oppotune moment, Kedah rose from obscurity to become the most important entrepot port on the peninsula. The growth of the trading port was however circumscribed by its own weakness.

The Kedah plain which was large and fertile by the peninsula standard, had the added advantage of being continuously occupied from an early period. It could not however on both accounts, compare with the great river dealtas to the north, the volcanic plain in Java or the river basin

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(1) Wong Shi-hok (1959), op.cit.

in Sumatra. With limited population and resources, the kingdom of Kedah could not have developed into a powerful empire. As it was, Kedah kingdom was but a minor political unit. Even at the height of its power, the kingdom was confined to the Merbok river area, bounded by Bukit Choras in the north and Bukit Mertajam in the south, an area of a mere two thousand square miles or so. The economic base had not extended beyong agriculture and fishing.

The fortune of Kedah was thus tied more to the entrepot trade than to its own economic base. As such, it could not but subject to the fluctuations beyong its own control. As Meilink-Roelofsz observes, the trade of Kedah was almost entirly passive. As it had no large junks of its own, Kedah was largely dependent for imports and exports on the foreign merchants who visited the port.[1] Morever, the feeble economic base could hardly sustain a continuous growth once the external support was removed or weakened.

So much for the weakness of city-state of Kedah itself. The failure of Kedah to generate a series of settlements or centres spatially interrelated, in other words, an elemental network of an urban system, needs further emphasizing. The reasons for such failure, which repeated themselves in the case of Malacca, will be looked at together after tracing the rise and decline of Malacca.

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(1) Meilink-Roelofsz, (1962), op.cit. p.71.

Malacca: A Commercial Empire

Malacca was only a small settlement of fishermen-pirates,[1] when its founder, Parameswara, arrived on the scene about the year 1400. Parameswara was a prince of Palembang, related to the court of Majapahit by marriage. His ambition led to his flight from Palembang and again from the island of Tumasik, the ancient Singapore. Before settling down at Malacca, Parameswara had with his followers established a river settlement at Muar, engaging in fishing, farming and piracy. Malacca was chosen to replace Muar because of its potential for trade, agriculture and particularly defence.

Malacca grew rapidly, it remained however, basically an agricultural settlement in the early fifteenth century with most of its inhabitants occupied in fishing.[2] It was not much more than a market place.[3] Siam and Majapahit both claimed suzerainty over the Malay peninsula where Malacca had hoped to but could not alone exert its authority. It was not until Parameswara had secured the support of the Ming China that Malacca was able to further develop into a wealthy entrepot port. Malacca was 'raised to the rank of a kingdom' and the settlement, the

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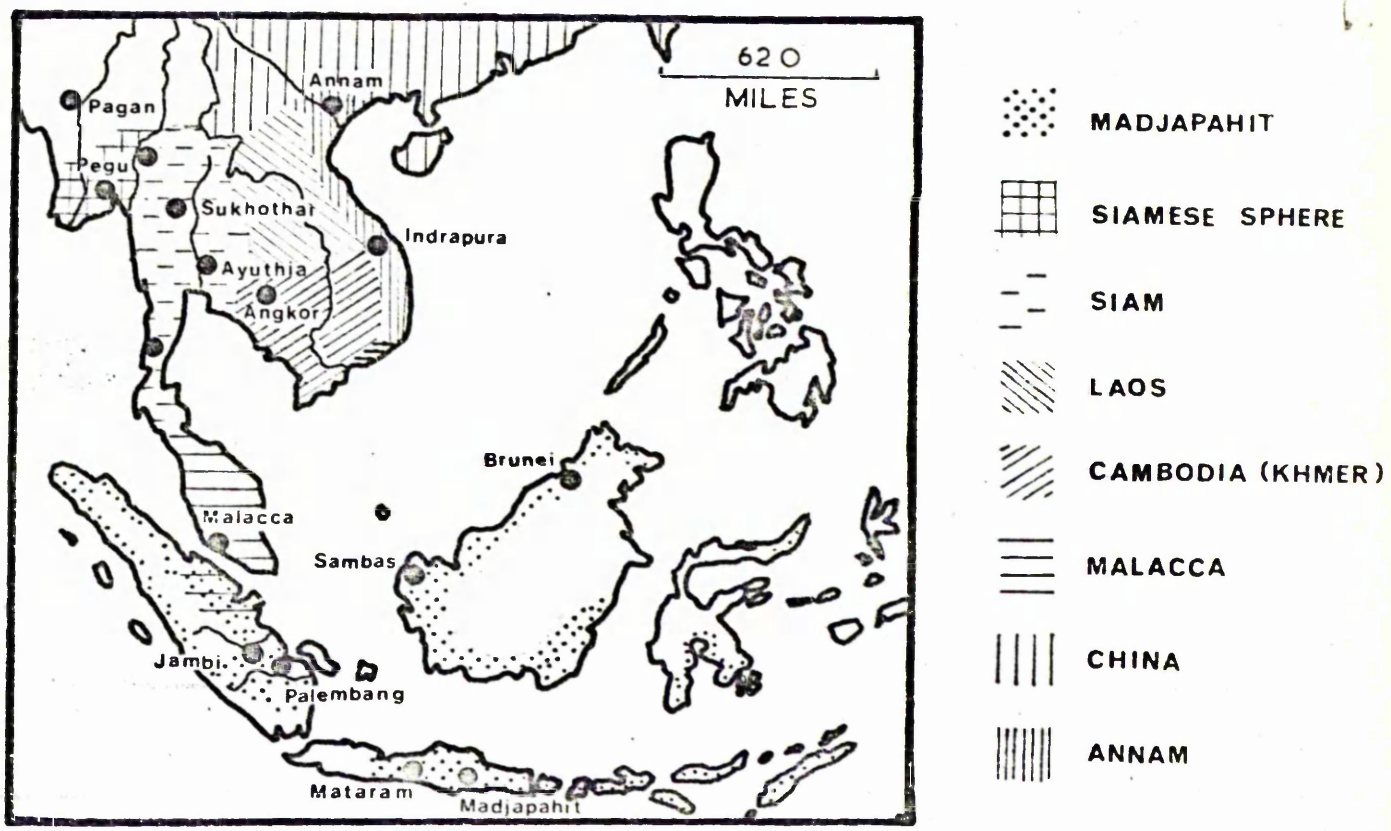
(1) Kennedy, J. (1970), A History of Malaya, (second edition), London, p.2.
(2) Ma-Huan (1451), Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan, for translation, see Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.322.
(3) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), A History of South-east Asia, London, p.180.

Fig. III



MALACCA IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA: 15th CENTURY

status of a city,[1] by the ennuch Cheng-Ho, the imperial envoy from China, in 1409. Although Siam refused to accept Malacca's suzerainty, the latter's close association with China served as a deterrent to the former to enforce its own claim. 'These diplomatic exchanges had, for Malacca, other consequences of equal importance to the growth of the infant kingdom!.[2] Malacca was then able to develop at the expense of Sumatra and Singapore by forcing all vessels passing through the Straits to come to its harbour.[3] In addition, the Chinese trading-junks acted as a magnet for other merchants to trade in Malacca, which was now sought by Java and Sumatra to enter into trade and political agreements.

It was not however, until Malacca had become 'a political power of the first rank', capable of self-defence, that the port, one of the best developed in the area, grew to become an international emporium. In the second half of the fifteenth century, after beating off the Siamese invasion, Malacca built up a loosely structured empire, with the small states of the Malay peninsula and eastern Sumatra making allegiance to it. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the empire of Malacca was at its zenith. It was then that the city of Malacca developed into the largest entrepot port in Southeast Asia and one of the largest in the world, where 'hundreds of merchants from Arabia,

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(1) Fei-Hsin (1436), Hsing-Ch'a Sheng-Lan. Cited in Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.324; and Ma-Huan (1451), op.cit. p.321.
(2) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. p.3.
(3) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. p.180.

Persia, India, Further India, and China, as well as from the Indonesian regions closer at hand, flocked together every year...'[1] The population at the time was estimated to be in the region of 40,000 with at least between 10,000--15,000 foreign traders.[2]

After 1511, the paramount position of Malacca gradually faded away. The Portuguese attempted to force all the ships passing through the Straits to call at Malacca, and from there eastward, trade was carried to Java, Moluccas, Siam, China and Japan. However, the limitations of the Portuguese authority in the area[3] and the hostility of the traders, especially the Muslim traders towards them, both in town and outside, greatly reduced the entrepot position of Malacca. New centres in Sumatra and on the Malay peninsula were sought by the traders formerly operated in Malacca. Acheh in northern Sumatra rose to capture the Indian trade and handled the Straits produce. Pasai and Pedir, other two northern Sumatran ports, also increased their share of the trade hitherto monopolised by Malacca. Kedah was now in a stronger position to trade directly with the northern Sumatran and the Siamese ports. Even the island and river-capitals of Johore, which shifted locations between attacks, became rival trading centres to Malacca.

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(1) Meilink-Roelofsz,(1962), op.cit. p.9.
(2) Wong Shi-Hok (1959), op.cit. p.77.
(3) Malacca was originally conceived 'as a kind of bank' by the Portuguese to finance their military and naval campaigns in the Arabian Sea area, and its main business was trade. The force sent to Malaya was small. See Macgregor, I.A. (1955), 'Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya', JMBRAS, XXVIII,2. pp.5-47.

From the early years of the seventh century, Malacca came under constant attacks from the Dutch, at times joined by Johore. The once flourishing trade steadily declined and the city finally surrendered to the Dutch in 1641. The Dutch succeeded in restoring the fortifications, and established 'factories', they failed to revive Malacca to its old glory as an international emporium. Although the Dutch policy of trade monopoly in Southeast Asia and between Europe and the region provided Malacca with a good opportunity to play an important role, Malacca was a centre of trade 'only in a very secondary sense'.[1] Throughtout the Dutch period, Malacca's trade was unimpressive and its population remained small. Batavia, chosen as the headquarters of the Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie had meanwhile developed to become the main entrepot port, Malacca was reduced to the status of an outpost. In 1698, the Governor-General of Malacca admitted that Malacca had been more a place of necessary residence and garrison than of trade for a long time.[2] Its trade dwindled further during the wars between the Dutch and the Bugis, in the eighteenth century.

Malacca enjoyed a temporary revival after it was captured by the British in 1795. The revival proved to be short-lived. For, as from 1786, Penang had verified itself to be effective as a port of call and a centre

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(1) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. p.89.
(2) Generale Massive, 30 December 1689, BPO, 1690, Boek 1, cited in Irwin, G.W. (1970), 'The Dutch and tin trade in Malaya', in Ch'en, J. and Tarling, N., Studies in the Social History of China and South-east Asia, Cambridge University Press, p.287.

of trade, serving well as the headquarters of the English East India Company. It was thought that the company's commercial and military interests would be better served by Penang than by Malacca. It was realized later that Penang could not become the centre of East Indies trade, and Malacca, being 240 miles further south, was better situated. However, the fortune had already turned against the latter. The population of Penang had increased from 1,000 in 1788 to 12,000 in 1804, with accompanying trade increase.[1] Notwithstanding Raffles' effort,[2] Malacca had further declined, being overshadowed by Penang and more (later on) fatally, by the rise of Singapore. In the meantime, the silting-up of its small harbour had reduced further Malacca's capability to compete with its northern and southern rivals in attracting the passing ships. When Malacca was again transferred to the British in 1824, its days as an international emporium in Southeast Asia had long over. It had since occupied a lesser position in terms of urban hierarchy behind Penang and Singapore. Soon after it was to witness the new centres grow in size and importance in the interior.

Malacca was described by Cortesao as a city that was made for

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(1) The foundation of Penang was described as a death-blow to Malacca, for a few years after 1876, trade of Malacca almost ceased. See Purcell, V. (1967), The Chinese in Malaya, O.U.P., p.36.

(2) Raffles made a report to the East India Company to retain Malacca, which was in danger of being abandoned by the Company and the merchants to make way for Penang. Among the advantages listed by Raffles in his plea were: large resident population, well cultivated land, orderly people and good site. Malacca was also chosen to be his headquarters for naval invasion to Java in 1811.

merchandise, fitter than any other in the world: 'Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca!'.[1] The seed of its decline, however, was hidden in the every reasons that made its success possible. The weakness of Malacca was apparent: it relied solely on trade and lacked an economic base of its own.

With an unusually favourable location, Malacca was perhaps the only exception as a market town to exist without relying on an agrarian hinterland,[2] but it was a precarious existence. From the outset, the strength of Malacca was restricted by its limited capacity for food production.[3] Whereas other minor ports both on the Sumatran and Peninsular coasts existed for the export of the products of their hinterlands, and flourished in proportion to the productivity of their immediate territories and the demand for their commodities, Malacca's prosperity depended on the volume of trade passing through the Strait. Malacca was tied to the full flow of Southeast Asian commodities.[4] And even at the height of its prosperity, Malacca's hinterland appears to have left untouched: the basic weakness of the town remained obvious:

> '...the town's economic basis was a narrow one. On top of the fact that there were few domestic products suitable for

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(1) Cortesao, A. (1944), The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, London, p.286.
(2) Meilink-Roelofsz, (1962), op.cit.
(3) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.591.
(4) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. pp.308-9.

> export, the amount of land given over to agriculture was all in the immediate vicinity of the town and was totally inadequate to meet the needs of the steadily expanding population'.1

Rice and other foodstuffs were imported, and there was no industry 'worth mentioning', and the limited amount of handicrafts locally produced were for the home market and not for export.[2] Hamilton later also wrote that the place produced 'nothing for a foreign market but a little tin and elephant teeth',[3] in spite of the fact that it lay almost in the centre of trade.[4] All these not only gave rise to strategic weakness for its defence, they also added to the 'impermanency' and the 'foreigness' of the town. The most striking feature of Malacca was clearly that it relied entirely upon trade for its prosperity and its trade was chiefly in the hands of the foreign merchants. Apart from the large number of the foreign traders permanently established in the town, the commercial life was regulated by the traders stationed elsewhere:

> 'The period of greatest activity on the Malacca market seems to have been between December and March, when ships were arriving from western Asia and the Far East. During the rest of the year, Javanese and other traders from the Indonesian area helped to keep the commercial centre busy'.5

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(1) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit.
(2) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit.
(3) Hamilton, A. (1727), A New Account of the East Indies, Vol. II, Edinburgh, p.82.
(4) Ibid. p.77.
(5) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit.

It is clear that the 'support' of the town was trade--externally-oriented entrepot trade, and the 'life' of the town was immediately tied to the traders--foreign traders. The corollary is inevitable: once the external support was removed, the town faded away. The events after 1511 proved just that.

Failure of Kedah and Malacca to Generate Urban System

Granting the weaknesses which underlie their short-lived grandeur, it remains to be seen why during the height of the city-state of Kedah and the kingdom of Malacca, a spatial spread of settlements and centres did not take place. The failure of the two most important political powers on the peninsula to generate a spatial structure for an indigenous urban system to evolve, stems from the same built-in weakness.

It has been forcefully argued by Sjoberg that 'the political power variable explains urban growth and proliferation to the frontiers and beyond'[1] and that 'large-scale economic enterprise is highly dependent upon an effective power structure'.[2] Both Kedah and Malacca in some aspects fell short of becoming an effective political power capable of engaging in large-scale economic enterprise on their own. The basic limitations lie, as mentioned earlier, in the lack of an extensive agricultural hinterland and the large concentration of population.

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(1) Sjoberg, G. (1965), op.cit. p.73.
(2) Ibid. p.76.

Added to these are other contributing factors.

Both Kedah city-state and Malacca empire were maritime powers with a single river-mouth port as the centre of trade. Maritime empires were, as observed by Tarling, 'fragile, impermanent, ill-defined, dependent on a number of factors human as well as geographical'.[1] The more serious handicap was that the river-mouth powers could scarcely exercise a powerful integrating control upon the tribes of the interior, given the difficulties of access and communication. Fissures in Archipelagic society existed from an early period.[2] One may go further to say that both Kedah and Malacca were essentially a commercial rather than a maritime power. Political power was more a mean to achieve the commercial ends. As such, the desire to control the sea was much stronger than to develop over land. Supremacy over the sea meant monopoly or a major control of the trade--the life blood of the commercial empire, whereas the yield of the undeveloped and the comparatively unproductive land of the peninsula presented a far less attractive alternative.

The case of Kedah was clear-cut. It was a river-mouth city-state. Although it did develop from a mere village to become a collecting point for the forest products of the surrounding district, it was its situation at the western end of a trans-peninsula route to the east which provided the impetus for growth.[3] Even during the 'felicities and elegancies years'

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(1) Tarling, N. (1968), op.cit. p.23.
(2) Ibid. p.7.
(3) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.275.

as one of the twin foci of the Sri Vijaya empire, and as the chief power on the peninsula, Kedah was but an instrument of the Sri Vijaya empire to control the sea trade. And it was linked by the persuasive bonds of trade with Sumatra, and the rest of the archipelago and India,[1] but hardly the hinterland. Once the control of trade by virtue of its connection with Sri Vijaya dwindled, the chief power on the peninsula was reduced to a 'very small kingdom, with few people and few houses'.[2] It left behind little trace of settlements in the vicinity spurred by its own prosperity during its haydays. The city-state of Kedah could hardly be described as an effective power structure. It seldom achieved political security to match her wealth.[3] Herein lies its weakness.[4]

Kedah enjoyed at best only an indirect support of a well established state system. The city-state itself undoubtedly flourished for a while as a result. The spatial city-building process on the peninsula lay outside the immediate interest of its supporter - the Sri Vijaya empire.[5] Little wonder therefore, that the city-state did not engender a network of settlements with itself as the centre of a spatial structure.

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(1) Ibid. pp.280-1.
(2) Cortesoa, A. (1944), The Suma Oriental of Toma Pires, London, I.
(3) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. p.68, Kedah was overrun by the invaders from Chola in the year 1025 when it was supported by Sri Vijaya.
(4) 'Nowhere do cities, even commercial ones, flourish without the direct or indirect support of a well-established state system. We can find no instances of significant city-building through commerce alone'. Sjoberg, G. (1965), op.cit. p.76.
(5) Sri Vijaya itself had its major drawback: the lack of population and good agricultural land. See Tarling, N. (1968), op.cit. p.23.

Malacca empire presents a slightly different picture in this respect. It was after all 'a political power of first rank', the most important commercial centre in Southeast Asia and the main diffusion-centre of Islam,[1] over a considerable period. However, it was obsessed with trade. Externally it controlled the Strait, trusting itself into the trade route and became the heir to the commercial power once wielded by Sri Vijaya.[2] Its political control overland, ostensibly beyond the peninsula comprising the present day Malaya, was far from absolute.[3] Its political power was directed to securing the control of the straits by forcing the trading vessels to call. The emphasis on trade was reflected in the internal structure of the government as well. The Sultan, theoretically the autocratic ruler, was himself the chief charterer of junks of trade, and the high officials were traders, often of foreign origin. And the merchants of each nation were represented by the office of Shabandars.[4]

The part played by Malacca in the conversion of the Malay people to Islam has been greatly emphasized by the historians. Malacca came close to, but failed to become, an 'Orthogenetic City'. It was obvious that Malacca became the main centre of Islam diffusion by way of trade.

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(1) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. p.182.
(2) Ibid. p.180.
(3) Tarling, N. (1968), op.cit. p.31.
(4) Ibid. p.32.

The greatest achievement in this connection, for instance, was its conversion of Java. It was through the Javanese traders, who dominated the East Java-Malacca trades, that Islam spread over to that island.[1] On the peninsula itself, it was the waxing commercial power of Malacca, aided by diplomatic royal marriages which were instrumental to the diffusion of Islam north to Kedah, east to Pahang and south to Johore.[2] True, it was a very important diffusion centre, but it was not the Mecca of Southeast Asia nor indeed, of the peninsula. There was no 'persuasive bonds of Islam' as it did in trade, between Malacca and other centres. And the political power at its disposal, circumscribed by various factors anyway, was not brought into play in forging such bonds.

The advantageous regional position of Malacca had been stressed by most of the writers in accounting for its rise to become the commercial centre of the region. However, in terms of overland spatial development, the coastal town had its inherent weakness. (This is true of Kedah too.) Given the physical obstacles and the low level of technology of the time, 'land divides and water unites' seems natural. In the case of Malacca, the lucrative sea-borne trade, in contrast to the less productive hinterland, rendered it more open towards centrifigal attraction[3]--the Straits

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(1) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. p.183.
(2) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.311.
(3) This view is at variance with that of Tarling, who, while referring to the coastal towns of Java, believes them to be particularly open to centripetal attraction. See Tarling, N. (1968), op.cit. p.31.

and coastal towns in Sumatra and elsewhere. This is vividly brought home by the following contrast. On theone hand, 'Malacca cannot live without Cambay, nor Cambay without Malacca',[1] and it had trade relations with ports throughout the whole of the archipelago and land afar. On the other, despite its wealth and importance, the immediate hinterland of the port was almost wholly undeveloped. Pires observed that stretching from Kuala Linggi in the north to Kuala Kesang in the south and inland to Gunong, the 'territory of Malacca' was nothing but jungle.[2]

It remains to be explained, however, why the growth of Malacca (and Kedah for that matter) did not generate a ribbon type of interrelated centres along the coast of the peninsula (granting that non-development inland was due to lack of economic incentive, and physical difficulties). Muar and Bertam, it may be recalled, were the first two localities chosen by Parameswara, the founder of the Malacca kingdom, before he finally settled down in Malacca. Muar was then already an established settlement with his followers numbering about a thousand. However, there was no 'booming' effect of the settlement[3] when Malacca grew into an international emporium, locating hardly twenty-five miles away from the latter. Further south, Batu Pahat and the ancient Singapore too did not seem to experience any impact. The lack of significant settlements south of the emporium

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(1) Cortesao, A. (1944), op.cit. p.45.
(2) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.317.
(3) Pires' records of 2,000 men in the settlement is thought to be an exaggeration. See Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. p.317.

was later confirmed by Hamilton. He observed in the early eighteenth century that there were no places of commerce between Malacca and Johore Lama.[1] There were however, 'a succession of settlements' under Malacca's rule northwards beyond River Linggi, such as Sungei Ujong, Klang, Selangor, Bernam, Dinding, Bruas and Perak. However, most of these settlements were 'mere villages' with population ranging from 200 to 400.[2]

Significantly, the bonds of trade, indeed any link at all, between Malacca and these settlements located on the same coast, were by far weaker than the former's relations with trading ports across the straits, the rest of the archipelago or faraway lands, as seen earlier. The lack of interaction is demonstrated by the fact that even Kedah, (though no longer 'the seat of all felicities', still occupied the second important place at the time on the peninsula) did not seem to engage in direct trade with Malacca.[3] And yet both places were visited by the same group of foreign traders--the Gujaratis.

This hints at the root of the failure of the Malacca and Kedah to develop a spatially integrating link with other settlements on the coast. The trade as stressed earlier, was externally-orientated, mostly in the

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(1) Hamilton gave the name of Johore Lami, but from his own description, it is probably Johore Lama. See Hamilton, A. (1727), op.cit. Vol. II, p.94.
(2) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit. pp.317-9.
(3) Vigorous trading relation between the two ports could not have escaped keen observer such as Pires, but he did not mention any direct trade. See Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit. p.71.

hands of the foreign traders. It was therefore 'passive' in character, in spite of the huge volumes involved. An entrepot port of this nature, unlike the interior orthogenetic capital, did not rely on, nor did it stimulate, a 'closed system' of spatially related settlements in the hinterland or along the coast with communication network linking them to itself.

There is a striking contrast between the trading ports of Kedah and Malacca, and the colonial ports of Penang and Singapore. The colonial ports functioned as a 'head-link'[1] for the outside world, the early trading ports could only be described as 'mid-link' in a long east-west maritime trade route. The colonial ports had their eyes on the economic resources of the interior, and hence the development of the commensurate transport infra-structure and the inland centres; the mid-link trading ports lived for, and flourished by, the passing trade and hence stood isolated from the immediate hinterland.[2] Little wonder therefore that while the colonial ports of Penang and Singapore, located off the mainland and comparatively further apart, succeeded in forming the outer scaffolding of the present day urban system of the country, the once prosperous trading ports of Kedah and

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(1) c.f. Spate, O.H.K. (1942), 'Factors in the development of Capital Cities', Geographical Review, 32, 1942, pp.622-631.

(2) c.f. Fisher's observation that maritime power with limited food-producing capacity needed, in Mackinder's word, 'to be nourished by land-fertility somewhere'. See Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.589.

Malacca failed in providing a base for a traditional urban system to evolve.

Johore: Successive Capitals

The kingdom of Johore represented the Malay attempts to revive the old empire of Malacca. It was however, a far cry from the latter, born out of the remnants of an indigenous power as a result of the Portuguese assault, and lived through a period of the 'scramble' for Southeast Asia by various European Powers for the monopoly of trade and political control. Winstedt remarked that 'From her foundation down to the nineteenth century the kingdom of Johore was in a precarious state. She was not strong enough to stand alone and she needed trade'.[1] And it was trade which brought six principal actors, the Malays, the Portuguese, the Achinese, the Dutch, the Bugis and the English together and prompted endless fighting.[2] Kennedy comments that it is a remarkable tribute to Malay conservatism that Johore kingdom survived at all.[3]

The detailed history of the kingdom need not concern us here. What is of significance is that it shows once more that political power base was critical to the development of towns, let alone an urban system. The desire to trade unsupported by political power could not even

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(1) Winstedt, R.O. (1932), 'A History of Johore (1365-1895 A.D.)', JMBRAS, Vol. X, Pt.III, p.1.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. p.50.

guarantee the survival of the individual centres, indeed, the capital of the kingdom. Johore, as did Achin at the time, 'aimed at making their ports the scene of undisturbed contact between traders from East and West'.[1] This resulted, unlike the time of Kedah and Malacca, in hostility all round. Being under separate political control, Johore's chance of becoming a centre of trade was hindered by its proximity to Portuguese Malacca. Even when Malacca came under the Dutch's East India Company, and Johore was an ally of the Dutch, the lion share of trade too went to Malacca, for Johore was the weaker partner of the two.[2]

For being weak and at wars with its competitors, Johore paid still a higher price--its capitals were repeatedly devastated and moved to several different sites. The successive capitals of Johore kingdom included, among others, the island of Bintang (to the southeast of modern Singapore), Johore Lama[3] (on the Johore river), Bukit Seluyut (further up the river), Batu Sawar (originally named Tanah Puteh, near the present site of Kota Tinggi).[4] None of the islandic and river capitals of Johore had grown to become centres of regional importance. Johore Lama, for instance, twice capital, had only limited advantages

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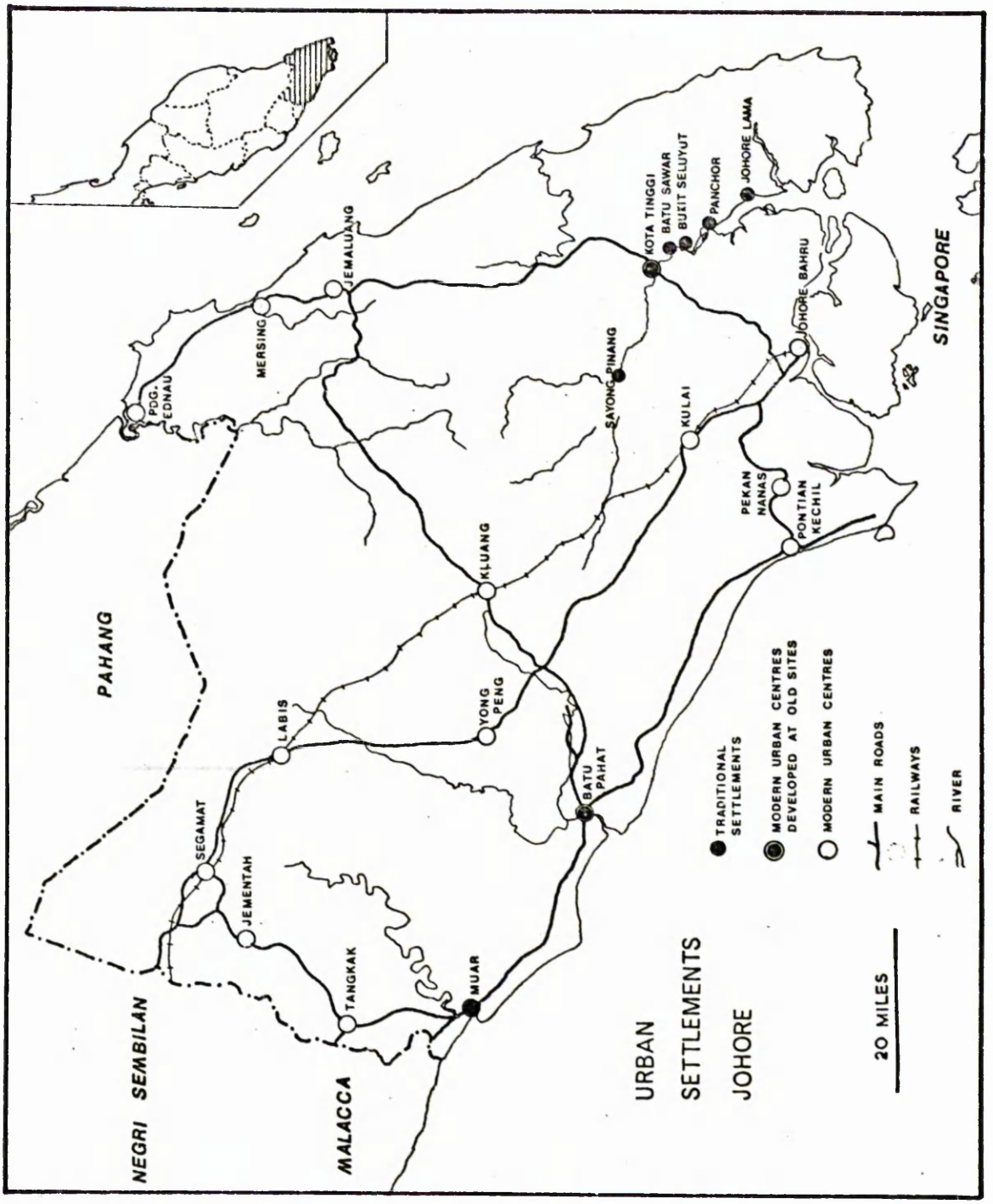
(1) Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), op.cit. p.137.
(2) Winstedt, R.O. (1932), op.cit. pp.1-2.
(3) Johore Lama was one of the important trading station where abundant evidence of sixteenth century Chinese porcelain (Ming type) was found. See Tweedie, M.W.F. (1957), Prehistoric Malaya, Singapore, p.41.
(4) See Gibson-Hill, C.A. (1955), 'Johore Lama and other ancient sites on the Johore River', JMBRAS, XXVIII, 2, 1955, pp.138-43; Winstedt, R.O. (1962), A History of Malaya (revised edition), Singapore, pp.135-8.

Fig. IV


NEGRI SEMBILAN
PAHANG
MALACCA
SINGAPORE
PDG. EDNAU
MERSING
JEMALUANG
SAYONG PINANG
KOTA TINGGI
BATU SAWAR
BUKIT SELUYUT
PANCHOR
JOHORE LAMA
JOHORE BAHRU
KULAI
PEKAN NANAS
PONTIAN KECHIL
KLUANG
YONG PENG
BATU PAHAT
LABIS
SEGAMAT
JEMENTAH
TANGKAK
MUAR
URBAN SETTLEMENTS
JOHORE
TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS
MODERN URBAN CENTRES DEVELOPED AT OLD SITES
MODERN URBAN CENTRES
MAIN ROADS
RAILWAYS
RIVER
20 MILES

as a capital and as a trading port. Even during the golden period of the kingdom's history (some twenty-five years of peace and prosperity in the middle of the sixteenth century) the capital Batu Sawar was only of local importance in the Johore river valley, in spite of its flourishing entrepot trade.[1] For the capitals could not 'outgrow' the circumscribed political power to which it belonged. The successive capitals were either destroyed in raids or abandoned for a new site. The old capitals did not leave behind a substantial frame for later urban centres to develop. (This is borne out by the fact that, today, besides Kota Tinggi, which is not developed from any of the old sites, there is no large urban centre on the banks of Johore river, the scene of the successive capitals of the old kingdom.) Up till the 1830s, the interior of Johore was still undeveloped. The numerous river settlements which sprang up later in the state, were spurred by the Kangchu system, an enterprise with settlement, landholding and cultivation (mainly gambier and pepper) rolled into one.[2] Johore Bahru, which was made the state in 1866,[3] grew from a small saw-mill port opposite the island of Singapore. The development of other interior towns and the growth in size and functions of the coastal settlements, were due largely to the coming of the road-rail

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(1) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. pp.50-1.
(2) Jackson, J.C. (1968), Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya 1786-1921, Kuala Lumpur, pp.7-30; Lees, F. (1964), 'Chinese Settlement in the Kulai Sub-District of Johore, Malaysia', in Steel, R.W. and Prothero, R.M. (1964), (eds) Geographers and the Tropic: Liverpool Essays, Longmans, pp.277-96.
(3) Thio, E. (1967), 'British Policy Towards Johore: From Advice to Control', JMBRAS, XL, Pt.I, p.2.

networks and the rubber plantation, the product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

The cases of Kedah and Malacca, therefore, serve to illustrate respectively the failure of the peninsula-based city-state and commercial empire to generate an indigenous urban system during the pre-European period. The kingdom of Johore represents a period of time when successive waves of European advancements and struggles for commercial and political control were the order of the day. Understandably the immediate concern of the precarious kingdom was its survival and not the enterprise of city-building.

All told, the evidence available tends to substantiate the first part of the twofold working hypothesis for the present treatise: that a system of towns and cities related to the traditional society did not in the past exist on the Malay peninsula, and that the present-day urban system is largely a product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS AND URBAN GENESIS

Perak is ideal as a locale for testing the hypothesis that the present-day urban system in Malaya is the product of the colonial-immigrant complex. It had existed as a Malay state for several centuries and was regarded as one 'conforming closely to the traditional norm' in terms of indigenous political system.[1] Its river banks were dotted with the Malay kampongs prior to the colonial-immigrant days, and yet few of these settlements developed to become modern urban centres. It was one of the main mining areas flooded with Chinese immigrant miners who contributed to the disintegration of the traditional political power and the mushrooming of the mining towns. Under the colonial rule, Perak developed to be one of the most urbanized states in the country with the traditional society being largely 'by-passed' in the process. Perak, however, lost to Selangor in producing a national capital as well as a national port, due to locational and political factors. The development in Perak, therefore, illustrates the driving force of the colonial-immigrant complex, particularly the immigrant component of the complex, during the early stages.

Early Settlements

Settlement development in Perak prior to the Chinese immigrants evolved to a great extent around trade. The Portuguese and the Dutch writers described in glowing terms the prosperity and trade rivalry in

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1958), Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, London, p.10.

those days. Godinho de Eredia wrote for instance that between 1597 and 1600 'Perak is much frequented and is the principal port for trade in tin or calayn in large slabs...'[1] In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the capital of Perak was described as teeming with 'brutal pirates, rudy advanturers and grasping traders'.[2]

Between 1641 and 1795, under the Dutch, a port was built on the Dinding Island to preserve her monopoly over tin trade.[3] Close watch of vessels belonging to other nations was kept and a stockade was erected to prevent the indigenous inhabitants from trading tin with other markets.

Little wonder that during those days the travellers to Perak were primarily concerned with, and the historians concentrated on, trade and trading activities. Winstedt and Wilkinson, amongst others, state that 'at the back of all Perak history has been trade'.[4]

The European writers, however, mostly ignored the role played by the indigeous people and rarely did they refer to the local settlements. The hinterland of the Perak river is known to have been well cultivated and populated by some 30,000, exporting about 5,000 pikuls of tin annually towards the close of the eighteenth century. Places such as Kuala Kangsar, and Tanjong Putas were important settlements settlements during this period;

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(1) Cited in Winstedt, R.O. and Wilkinson, R.J. (1934), 'A History of Perak', JMBRAS, Vol. XII, Part I, p.14.
(2) Ibid. p.20.
(3) Ibid. p.53.
(4) Winstedt, R.O. and Wilkinson, R.J. (1934), op.cit. p.1.

the former was mentioned only in passing by Captain Forest in 1783 as a place through which tin was exported to Penang.[1] He said practically nothing of the size or the conditions of the settlements. Bruas was another important indigenous settlement in Perak pre-dating Portuguese Malacca. It survived the defeat and domestic tragedy wrought upon Perak; it was the capital of the Kingdom of Bruas, ideally located on the estuary of the river of the same name. It was then, according to the Malay Annuals, known to the people of Perak as 'Gungga Nagara' (the modern village of Pengkalan Bahru is, due to the silting up of the river, located many miles inland from the old site).[2] Yet, no accurate description of this settlement is available in spite of its considerable size--local tradition has it that it took a cat three months to do a circuit of the roof.[3]

Hence, notwithstanding the rich tin ore deposits and the bustling trading activities from a period dating at least to the sixteenth century, very little is known of the human settlements in Perak.[4] Crawfurd's description of Perak was that 'the country is, in fact, a vast jungle, in which are scattered a few villages'.[5] He estimated the population to

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(1) Ibid. p.59.
(2) Wales, Q.H.G. (1940), 'Archaeological research on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya, JMBRAS, 18.
(3) Ibid. p.50 and Wilkinson, R.J. (1908), 'Notes on Perak History', Papers on Malayan Subjects, History, Part II, p.69.
(4) Hale, A. (1900), John Smith's Adventures in Malaya, 1600-1624 which is one of the earliest writings on the Peninsula in which Perak fared considerably. But little was said about the settlements.
(5) Crawfurd, J. (1856), A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries, London, p.336. (First edition: 1820).

be in the order of 25,000.[1] Rice production was just sufficient for local consumption although commerical forest produces were collected. He also confirmed that tin was already a product of some importance, being exported to Penang and Singapore.[2]

It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British began to exert their influence in Perak, that we have some, though not altogether satisfactory, indication as to the nature of the settlements. These settlements were now referred to as villages. Among the early writings is John Anderson's description of the 'tin countries'[3] which describes the villages and the number of houses on the banks of the Perak river and its tributaries. The information, gathered from the 'best informed natives of the country', and his personal observations, furnishes us with some idea of the size and location of the settlements.

The population of Perak was estimated in 1818 at 100,000 men, besides women and children. Anderson thought that this figure was somewhat overrated but he did not give his own estimate. He referred

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(1) Before the first census was taken in 1891, the population of Perak was estimated differently by various writers. Apart from the fluctuation of the population, Crawfurd was probably right to remark that 'in those days, the total population was a matter of conjecture'. See Crawfurd, J. (1856), op.cit. p.4.

(2) Crawfurd, J. (1856), op.cit. p.4.

(3) Anderson, J. (1824), Political and Commercial Considerations Relative to the Malayan Peninsula, and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, (John Anderson was a civil servant of the East India Company, working as a Malay translator to Government. The book was written after his visit to some 'principal places' on the west coast of the peninsula.)

to the number of houses of the individual villages and was convinced that they conveyed a more precise idea of population of the country.[1] Significantly, he also reported that there were about 400 Chinese residents in the state engaged in working the tin mines and in trading.[2] He observed that the inhabitants of Perak were 'much less civilized ' and by this he probably meant 'less developed' than the people of Kedah or Selangor.

Of the villages of Perak Anderson listed about 100 of them of varying sizes and noted 'many smaller' ones scattered over the country. There were also huts and dwellings' amongst the paddy fields.[3] The principal 'town' of the 'country' was Rantau Panjang containing about 400 houses. Of importance too was the village of Bandar with about 200 houses. These two were only a mile apart on the banks of a river-- the Batang Padang.[4] There were three other villages each of 100 (or more) houses, namely, Duablas, Pasir Garam and Sirih, the first two being the principal villages in the interior,[5] between Sungei Rajar[6] and the borders of the Patani country, and the third was on the bank of the Sirih. Other villages, about twenty, had houses ranging between fifty to eighty each, and the smaller ones had between ten and forty. It is evident from Anderson's description that the greater number, and the larger

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(1) Ibid. p.181.
(2) Anderson, J. (1824), op.cit. p.187.
(3) Malcom, Rev. H. (1839), Travels in South Eastern Asia, London, Vol. II, p.186.
(4) Ibid. p.183.
(5) Anderson, J. (1824), op.cit. p.184.
(6) It was also referred to as Kuala Rajah.

ones, of the villages were on the banks of the main rivers. Apart from the Perak river, there were also villages located on the banks of smaller rivers, such as Sungei Bidor, Batang Padang, Chenderriang, Kampar and Raia.[1]

It is interesting to note that some of the early settlements failed to receive any mention in the later records. The locational proximity of the villages on the same river banks might have resulted in the more dominant village over-shadowing the lesser ones. Or the larger village might have coalesced with the smaller ones to form a separate identity. Whatever the cause, these processes eventually resulted in the disappearance or decline of certain villages of lesser importance. But the most striking fact is that few of the villages grew to become important urban centres of the modern Malaya.

In 1837, Malcom described the central region of the country as little known and the frontier as indistinct. The population (excluding the indigenous people in the central region) was estimated at 35,000. Cultivated land was limited; the inhabitants depended on the sale of tin, and fishing, with which to purchase rice and other necessities. Malcom reported that of all the people not one in 500 could read.

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(1) Either because of difference of transliteration of the modern and old names or mis-spelling of the Malay words, some of the places mentioned are difficult to identify. The word 'Kuala' meaning estuary may at times be referred to as 'Sungei' meaning river, or vice-versa.

One hundred and fifty years of Dutch's rule left no relic except the ruins of Dinding Island.[1]

The situation which prevailed towards the close of the 1830s was described by Newbold as one in which the villages straggled at considerable distance on the jungle-lined banks of the Perak river.[2]

Newbold reported that more than sufficient rice was now grown and a few Chinese, Arab and Chuliah settlers were to be found.[3] The settlements which came to his notice, apart from Rantau Panjang (which he described as the 'principal town' up the Perak river) included Kota Lumut, Bandar, Pantong Panjong and Passir Garam, about thirty miles up the river. The chief of Perak resided at Passir Suyong, about three to four day's journey from the mouth. There were in addition several stockades commanding the approach by water to the interior villages.[4] Begbie,[5] writing in the early thirties of the nineteenth century, mentioned the infant settlements of the 'tin' countries but rarely dwelt at length upon any of these settlements.

It was only until the mid-century when Low published his accounts

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(1) Malcom, Rev. H. (1839), Travels in South Eastern Asia, London, Vol. II, pp.119-20.
(2) Newbold, T.J. (1839), Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, London, Vol. II, pp.22-3.
(3) Ibid. p.24.
(4) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. pp.22-4.
(5) Begbie, P.J. (1834), The Malayan Peninsula, embracing its History, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, Politics, Natural History and from its earliest records, Madras. Begbie seems to quote freely from Anderson, Crawfurd and Newbold.

of the country that more useful information relating to the settlements began to come to light. We now learn of the produce of the country, the 'goods most in request', such as blue cloth of cotton, Achean dressess, opium, tobacco, salt, salt-fish, gambiar and other minor articles, all of which were exchanged by the miners for tin. Mining and agriculture seem to form the economic bases of the settlements. The miners worked all year round but the agriculturist commenced mining operations only after the harvest. Budara, Bukkan, Sayong Chekoos, Soongkie Budok, Kampa, Patoong Padang were listed as the location of the chief mines, while the ore was battered and afterwards smelted by the Chinese at Chandariang.[1]

Table I, compiled from the information provided by Low, shows some of the larger settlements in Perak around the middle of the nineteenth century. It is revealing in two aspects; namely, all the settlements were rather small in size, and some of them were, at the time, in a state of decline.

Low employed the term 'town' occasionally, perhaps inappropriately. Apart from these settlements, he also passed through about twenty-five other villages mainly on the river banks, including Rantau Panjang, which was referred to by Anderson thirty years earlier as the 'principal town', containing 400 houses. Low named this settlement in passing, but made

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(1) Low, J. (1850), 'Observations on Perak, The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia, Vol. IV, pp.497-503.

TABLE 1

Settlements in Perak about 1850

Settlement@	Descriptions
Krort	four or five days paddling distance from Rantau Panjang, with a population of 400.
Kampa	Two days above Rantau Panjang, with a population of 500-600 'in quiet times'.
Bandar	a large straggling village with 200 houses, about 50 of which were inhabited by Chinese who carried on most of the trade of the country.
Allahan	the temporary residence of the Raja, and referred to as a 'town', lying on the river bank 50 miles away from the sea.
Bota	formerly Raja's residence, 500 inhabitants during 'prosperous period'.
Layang Layang	formerly 200-300 people.
Blanja	300 persons before 'Siamese and Selangorians distracted the country'.
Budara	200 persons, inclusive of village Maroh.
Goar	formerly about 300 persons.
Sayong	about 100 houses.
Kwala Kangsar	there was an elephant road to Trong.
Pondoh	1,000 persons.
Kundering	about 500 persons 'in quiet times'
Kulin	40-50 persons.

Source: Low, J. (1850), op.cit.

@: The spellings of the name of settlements were Low's.

no mention of its size. Instead, a place on a low sandy beach on the east bank of a river was described as Amina's 'town'. A shift of relative importance of the villages seems to have taken place.

Low, throughout his observations often referred to the population of 'former' and 'peaceful' days, thus suggesting a de-population of some scale in his time. He placed the blame for this on the Siamese. Rantau Panjang might have been one of the many settlements which became depopulated although Bandar (Bendar)[1] seems to have remained intact. It is doubtful, even if the depopulation did not take place, it would have been still possible for these indigenous settlements to develop into urban centres by themselves within the next thirty years without economic impetus.

McNair, for example, found Perak on the eve of British intervention badly ruled, thinly populated and poorly cultivated.[2] Swettenham, writing in 1872-3, described Perak as being still very much a 'limitless' expanse of jungle. Gullick could not help concluding that Malaya in the 1870's was characterized by its conspicuous impermancy.[3]

Less than a decade after British intervention, Swettenham took pride in writing of 'the rise of townships' and thought it a 'natural' phenomenon that 'in the centre of each group of mines should spring up

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(1) Low seems to have adopted a different system of spellings which makes identification of place-names difficult.
(2) McNair, F. (1878), Perak and the Malays, London, p.3.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.29.

a town and market.[1] In the Perak Handbook of 1893,[2] a lengthy section was devoted to the description of 'Towns and Villages, Roads, etc'. It is significant that the towns referred to by Swettenham and the Handbook were no longer merely settlements of attap huts centered around a mosque--the traditional description of the kampong. They were indeed towns, with well-built brick houses and large non-agricultural immigrant inhabitants. The larger of these towns could boast of market places, police stations, prisons, hospitals, schools, churches, government offices and even hotels and museums. They were linked by road and at times by rail in addition to the traditional waterways. By the middle of the first decade of this century, Ipoh, Batu Gajah, Gopeng and Kampar in the Kinta district were described by Belfield as 'important mining and commercial towns'. He also reported that all the principal industrial and social centres of the state were then approachable by good roads and in most instances also by railway, from the north, south and the centre.[3]

Constraints on Settlement Development

For almost half a century Perak seemed to have made little headway in settlement development. The villages throughout the whole length of

(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), About Perak, Singapore, p.37.
(2) Taiping (1893), The Perak Handbook and Civil Service List 1893, p.208.
(3) Belfield, H.C. (1906), Handbook of the Federated Malay States, London, p.77.

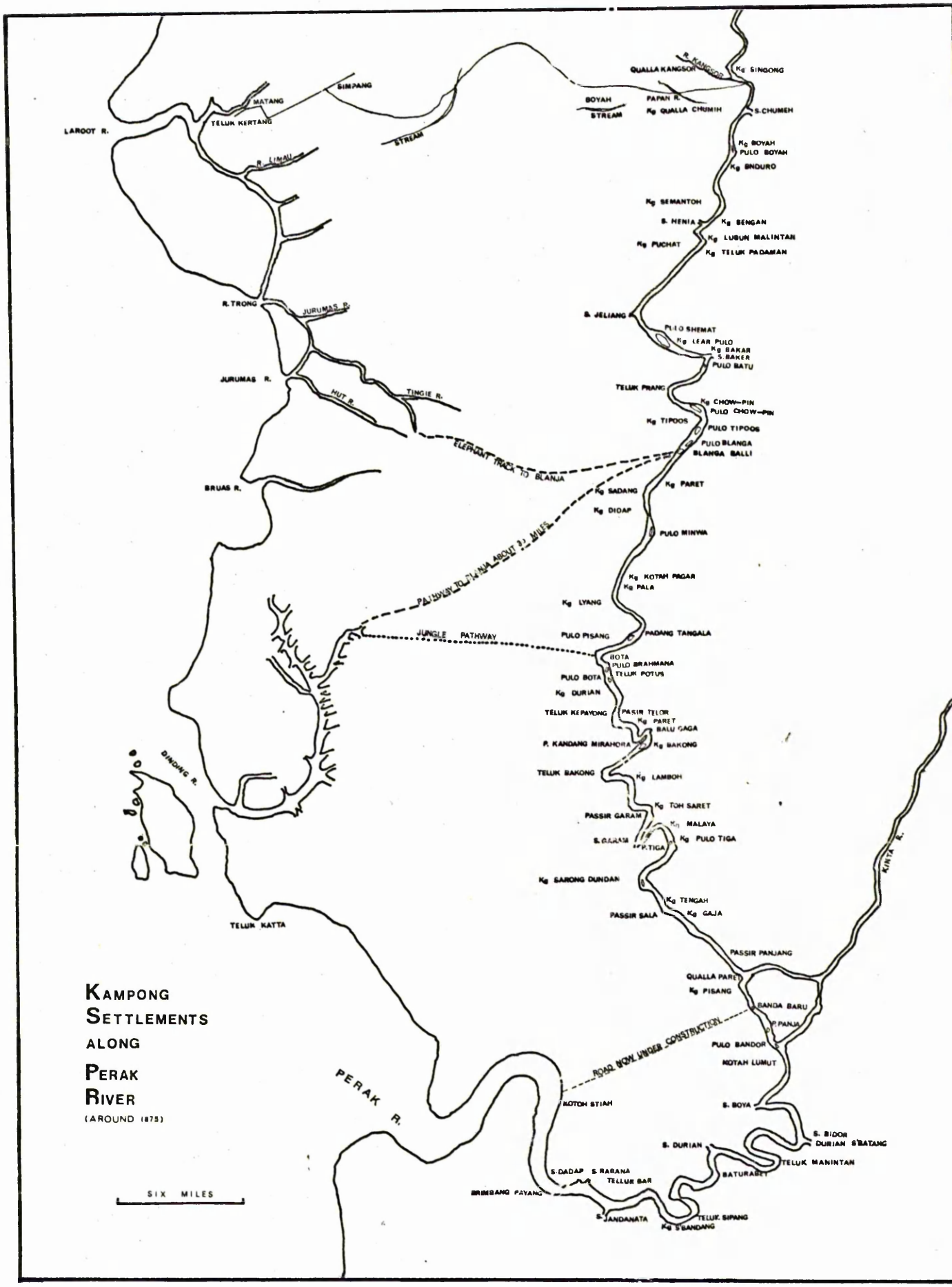
KAMPONG SETTLEMENTS ALONG PERAK RIVER
(AROUND 1875)
SIX MILES
PERAK R.
LAROOT R.
MATANG
SIMPANG
TELUK KERTANG
R. LIMAU
STREAM
R. TRONG
JURUMAS R.
JURUMAS R.
HUT R.
TINGIE R.
BRUAS R.
ELEPHANT TRACK TO BLANJA
PATHWAY TO TAPAH ABOUT 22 MILES
JUNGLE PATHWAY
DINDANG R.
TELUK KATTA
QUALLA KANGSOR
R. KANGSOR
Kg SINGONG
BOYAH STREAM
PAPAN R.
Kg QUALLA CHUMIH
S. CHUMEH
Kg BOYAH
PULO BOYAH
Kg BINDURO
Kg SEMANTOH
S. HENIA R.
Kg BENGAN
Kg LUBUN MALINTAN
Kg PUCHAT
Kg TELUK PADAMAN
S. JELIANG
PULO SHEMAT
Kg LEAR PULO
Kg BAKAR
S. BAKER
PULO BATU
TELUK PRANG
Kg CHOW-PIN
PULO CHOW-PIN
Kg TIPOOS
PULO TIPOOS
PULO BLANGA
BLANGA BALLI
Kg SADANG
Kg PARET
Kg DIDAP
PULO MINWA
Kg KOTAH PAGAR
Kg PALA
Kg LYANG
PULO PISANG
PADANG TANGALA
BOTA
PULO BRAHMANA
TELUK POTUS
PULO BOTA
Kg DURIAN
TELUK KEPAYONG
PASIR TELOR
Kg PARET
BALU GAGA
P. KANDANG MIRAHORA
Kg BAKONG
TELUK BAKONG
Kg LAMBOH
Kg TOH SARET
PASSIR GARAM
Kg MALAYA
S. GARAM
P. TIGA
Kg PULO TIGA
Kg SARONG DUNDAN
Kg TENGAH
PASSIR SALA
Kg GAJA
KINTA R.
PASSIR PANJANG
QUALLA PARET
Kg PISANG
BANDA BARU
P. PANJA
PULO BANDOR
KOTAH LUMUT
ROAD NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION
KOTOH STIAH
S. BOYA
S. BIDOR
DURIAN S'BATANG
S. DURIAN
TELUK MANINTAN
BATURABIT
S. DADAP
S. RABANA
TELLUR BAR
BRIBBANG PAYANG
S. JANDANATA
TELUK SIPANG
Kg S'BANDANG

Fig. V

the Perak River were usually sheltered and isolated from each other by several miles of dense forest. Each of these villages was under the effective jurisdiction of a chief who also imposed tolls on the traffic moving down on the river. At the beginning of the British rule, with the sole exception of Larut district, there was not a yard of road, hardly a decent house, not even a bridle path, 'only jungle traces made by wild beasts and used by charcaol-burners and a few pedestrians'.[1]

The impression that one gains from the literature is that the pace of settlement development was slow in Perak. This is true for the geography of Perak was less conducive to human settlement as compared with areas in the extreme north and in the south where the early Malay settlements were found.[2] The central range of the peninsula, the mountainous gorges, the short torrential rivers, the often flooded alluvial land and the swampy jungle, did not make for easy settlement. The inhabitable tin-bearing alluvium bordering the foothills is of recent origin.[3]

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), British Malay, London, p.118.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1958), Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, London, p.7. Also, Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.590.
(3) Wales, however, contended that the valleys of the Perak river and its tributaries were sufficient in the early centuries to satisfy the requirements of the founders of the early settlements. He suggested that it was quite possible for large cities to have flourished on the Perak river and yet to have been completely destroyed. He believed the ancient bronze images are enough proof of how 'completely cities have been overwhelmed'. See Wales, Q.H.G. (1940), 'Archaelogical Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya', Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII, pp.48-50.

Apart from the physical difficulties, other circumstances which prevailed in Perak during this period too did not encourage the traditional kampong settlements to form themselves as the nuclei of the urban process. The net result was, while the kampongs remained kampongs in function and character, area such as Larut, which was 'a no-man's-land'[1] during the first half of the nineteenth century, succeeded in a quarter of a century later to become the leading urbanised district in the state.

The Malay villages, large or small, were always located on the banks of the rivers or near the sea, both providing not only convenient navigation but also one of their chief diets--fish. This was also where the naturally suitable padi lands were to be easily found. The river estuaries--the kuala sites--with such advantages as providing commanding position were the obvious choice for village settlements. There were natural advantages in having a large and continuous cultivated area. It was more economical to maintain the rice growing earthworks collectively and this lured the ordinary Malay to congregate in the villages rather than to be scattered in isolated homesteads. It would have been easier for the chiefs in a compact settlement to manage the local defence, exert their political control and collect the revenue.

The main reason why the settlements did not grow in size was that

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(1) Wilkinson, R.J. (1908), Papers on Malay Subjects, History, Part II, London, p.89, and Winstedt, R.O. and Wilkinson, R.J. (1934), op.cit. p.78.

the agriculture-based kampong settlements were limited by their level of economic resources and technological skill. The kampong varied from hamlets of some five houses to large settlements of a hundred houses or more.[1] The large one, invariably the residence of a chief, provided the site for the 'capital' of the district (of 1,000 people) which included also a number of other villages and hamlets. The size of the villages was a determining factor, for, as Gullick states, 'a village of 30-50 houses was in most cases as large a population as could find naturally suitable land within a convenient distance of the village site'.[2] It must be remembered that the optimum size of the village was conditioned by the availability of rice land. When the latter became scarce, the big ones tended to break away to form a new hamlet nearby. The abundance of land made this easy,[3] while low technological skill made extension of agricultural land afar undesirable.

Size apart, there were other factors which militated against the village settlements growing bigger or developing into urban settlements. One of these was the relatively brief and unstable history of the village settlements. In Perak the Malay villages had been founded within living memory and had thus no long tradition behind them.[4] And until the establishment of British control, the settlements were transitory and

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.27.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.28.
(3) Ibid. pp.28-9.
(4) Ibid. p.32.

impermanent in nature,[1] owing to the long unstable political conditions of the times. The Malay communities had insufficient time to 'settle down' and produce their craftsmen and traders necessary for the establishment of a system of commercial exchange within and between the villages.

This lack of a system of commercial exchange was partly due to the slowness with which specialization developed. The Malay society was communally self-sufficient.[2] There is little evidence to suggest any substantial commercial cultivation for monetary gains. Lack of specialization and commercial exchange through a monetary system were some of the important factors. Winstedt attributed the failure to specialise to the small size and the isolation of the Malay village communities and to the bountifulness of nature. The first made it difficult to maintain the specialist and the second made livelihood easy, and therefore specialization was not urgent. The pirate, the fisherman, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the weaver, the medicine man were also the rice-planter during the rice season. As a result only the luxury demands of the few royal courts encouraged some specialization in such crafts as weaving, metal-work and the forging of weapons.[3] There were few full-time craftsmen except in the retinue of Sultans and great chiefs. Only wealthy patrons could provide steady employment for a silver-smith or wood-worker. Only here and there there was a village with a minor industry.[4]

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(1) Ibid. p.31.
(2) Dobby, E.H.G. (1958), op.cit. p.128.
(3) Winstedt, R.O. (1950), op.cit. p.135.
(4) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.31.

The isolation of the village settlements and the lack of communications other than the waterways also prevented them in engaging in the process of economic exchange. Even villages sharing a common river bank were 'usually divided from each other by several miles of heavy forest', while in the interior the villages were seperated by considerable distances, and the population scanty and scattered. The exchange and the flow of commodities had not only to contend with the difficulties posed by distance and the cost of transport but also the tolls at various points to overcome.

Foreign trade (the export of tin and the purchase of cloth, foodstuff and other necessities from abroad) had undoubtedly introduced into Malay peninsula an economy based on a monetary system of exchange, but it is doubtful that the practice of monetary exchange was commonplace in the traditional village communities of Perak before the 1870s. In addition, the political atmosphere was far from conducive to the accumulation of wealth,[1] and by extension to the free use of money.

The point to be noted is that although the Malay settlements did not develop into urban settlements, they nevertheless went through the motions of development. The settlement grew in size and in space and some of them began to develop beyond the coastal strip and the river

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(1) Swettenham noted as late as 1875 that 'few commoners accumulated any wealth; if they did so a Raja would rob them of it or oblige them to lend it without any prospect of repayment'. Swettenham, F.A. (1875), Despatch from the Governor of the Straits Settlements to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; public Records Office series CO/273 and CO/809.

banks. Owing to the comparative ease of communications and the fact that there were fewer taxes and tolls to be paid, at the kuala site, such sites were better placed for growth than other locations. Such settlements gained further prominence if they also happened to be the capitals of the traditional Malay political units. There were also changes and adjustments in the size and importance of settlements occuring with the passage of time, and the result was that generally the strategically located kuala sites become larger. By and large the Malay settlements did not, however, become urban centres on the eve of British rule. This perhaps prompted McNair to conclude that the villages of Perak took the place of towns.[1]

Those village settlements, which were heavily influenced by the Chinese immigrants, felt some of the impact of the new motivation which the latter introduced. The peasants grew more padi than was required for their own consumption in and after the 1870s.[2] The needs of Chinese mining communities (though located away from the villages) for rice, etc., provided a ready market for anything the Malay peasant had to sell.[3] Sale of surplus foodstuff or of each crops, though on a very small scale, had become the main source of income for the Malay peasant. Some Malay peasants specialised on rice cultivation while others engaged

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(1) McNair, F. (1878), Perak and the Malays: 'Sarong' and 'Kris', London, p.155.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.29.
(3) Ibid. p.31.

themselves in the cultivation of other cash crops. The latter also earned some income from the sale of forest products and from providing boat transport. The non-rice cultivating peasants used their income to purchase rice, salt, textiles and other necessities.[1]

The larger settlements, often with only a mosque to distinguish them from the smaller ones, had now 'a few Chinese shopkeepers'.[2] But these settlements were still far from being 'urban' in character and the significant changes were slow in appearing. The real urban development took place in the mining areas peopled mainly by the Chinese miners. As noted by Dobby, Malay settlements and Malay farms were few in the mining areas, so that 'there was no significant displacement of the old by the new or of the indigenous by the foreign'.[3]

On the eve of British control, the Malay settlements were crowded along the Perak river, while urban development took place most conspicuously in the Kinta valley in Larut district. Such Malay settlements along the Perak river as Passir Sala, Bandar Basar, Bota and Blanja were by-passed by the later urban development. Only a few such as Kuala Kangsar and Sabatang survived and were transformed into urban settlements.

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1958), op.cit. p.31.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Dobby, E.H.G. (1958), op.cit. p.130.

The Contrast: The Mining Fields & The Traditional Areas

One illustration of the argument that urban development in Perak took place outside the traditional Malay area, is Larut which, like Klang, saw the development of the earliest mining settlements. These areas began as mining districts and were dotted with urban centres at the turn of the century.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the district of Larut was practically a no-man's land; the Malays found very little to attract him in the desolate swamp-country of the coast. Until it was overtaken by Kinta, Larut was the richest and the most developed in the state. Its population and prosperity were derived from settlers beyond the borders of the state.[1]

The potential wealth of tin of the district was first realized by one Long Jaafar, a Perak-born Malay son of a minor chief. When he arrived on the scene there were only three Chinese in the whole of Larut working as miners. He attracted many adventurers to the rich mines, initially to an area close to the present day Kamunting (known then as Kelian Bahru). When Jaafar died in 1857, he was succeeded by his son, Ibriham, who became the famous Mentri of Larut. The Mentri was given greater powers than his father and was able to amass vast revenue

(1) Wilkinson, R.J. (1908), Papers on Malay Subjects, History, Part II, Notes on Perak History, London, p.89.

from the tin mines.

The district was now inhabited by large numbers of Chinese, who by 1862 were spilt into various factions, quarrelling over the control of the enormously rich mines. From time to time, there were serious outbreaks of violence, chiefly between two rival factions of the See Kuans (四黃) and the Go Kuans (五黃). These factions worked on two different group of mines, about two to three miles apart.

The Chinese mining population was estimated at forty thousand, and the value of the tin annually exported, approximately a million dollars, at the end of 1871. At first the Mentri manoevered one faction against another for financial gains, but the increasing strength of the Chinese and the growing intensity of the faction conflict soon went beyond the power of the Mentri to control.

At the height of the armed battle in 1872, three thousand men were killed in a single day, villages and every isolated house burnt down, and almost every mine closed. These events and disturbances elsewhere, especially in Selangor state, resulted in the British intervention in Malay states in 1874.[1]

The opening up of the mining area, the consequent arrival of a large number of Chinese, the establishment of first, the mining stationss and later, the mining towns represented a turning point in the development of settlement landscape. McNair, who accompanied the Governor of the

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(1) See Swettenham, F. (1906), British Malaya, pp.122-4, and McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. pp.348-60.

Straits Settlements through the country both before the disturbances and after the murder of the British resident,[1] witnessed the change in Larut. The two sites at which the warring factions of the Chinese miners worked had developed into two principal towns in the district: Taiping and Kamunting.

McNair made a comparison of the striking differences between the agricultural and the mining areas. He stated that,

> 'This portion (Larut) of the state is well deserving of a visit, from its being the busiest and most thriving; standing out as it does in strong contrast to the sleepy agricultural portions, where the uniquitous Chinaman is not at work'.

Larut was an area where 'the mining towns are thronged, there are Chinese shops, and the general air of the place betokens prosperity'.[2] Taiping was described as a busy place, 'with long thatch buildings by the hundreds. Fences and watercourses intersect the land, and here and there supplies of water are dammed up for the purpose of washing the tin!'

And this, the first mining settlement in the state, was soon surpassed by Kinta valley with more and larger mining towns springing up. The early opening up of Larut was due not only to its rich tin deposits but also to its comparatively proximity with the coast and Penang, which

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(1) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. p.29.
(2) Ibid. pp.29-30.

facilitated the import of food[1] and presumably equipment required by the mining industry. Kinta valley was further inland and hence it was more difficult to establish communication with the coast. The immediate banks of the Perak river were lined with Malay settlements and these settlements pre-dated the arrival of the miners. At some distance behind these Malay settlements on both banks of the river lay the mining stations.

While the mining stations grew to become urban centres, the Malay settlements along the banks of the river largely remained as they had always been. Since the main stream of development did not include the riverine settlements, the latter were 'by-passed' by the development of the mining belt.[2]

Any optimision that the new political order consequent on British intervention in Perak would have the effect of urbanising the Malay settlements was disproved. McNair, for instance, predicted that with the opening up of the country these settlements would rise to 'the dignity of busy commercial emporiums'.[3] He named quite a number of the

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(1) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit.
(2) See also Fisher, C.A. (1956), 'The Problem of Malayan Unity in its Geographical Setting', in Steel, R.W. and Fisher, C.A., Geographical Essays on British Tropical Lands, London, p.303.
(3) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. p.155.

potential settlements.[1] It is noteworthy that few of McNair's 'important' kampongs were later to develop into significant urban centres.

There were however visible changes. Knaggs, who visited some of the settlements on the banks of Perak river at this critical juncture, noted the changes in Kota Setia and Chumar, which had developed into considerable Chinese settlements. The former even showed signs of permanency and success. Although most of the villages failed to develop into urban centres, the effect of mining could still be felt. The fortunes of Durian Sabatan, Matang Padang and some other Malay villages, for instance, were to some extent tied to mining activities. Considerable business had at one time been undertaken in Durian Sabatang, simply because it was the 'depot' for trade with the mines up the river. Matang Padang showed no signs of prosperity probably because the nearby mines were abandoned. Bidor, which had rich tin deposits and a large quantity of gold (obviously the support of the 'good village'), was reported to have 'clean houses'. A failure in mine production and the consequent drop in the number of miners resulted in the desolate scene of deserted

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(1) The more important ones on the Perak river were Chigagala, Kotah Lamah, Canpong Syang, Botah, Pulo Tiga, Passir Sala, Kotah Lumat, Durian Sabatang, Batu Rabit, and Kota Setia; in Larut mention was made of the Bukit Ganting village (where the residence of the Mentri of Perak was); on the Bruas river, he singled out Chindrong Klubi and on the Kurow river, he spoke of Mandring Semboh. Qualla Kungsa was said to have become important as the military station of the British Government. (all place-names McNair's spellings) Ibid. pp.155-6.

shops and houses in the other villages.[1]

Thus, three basic features characterised the settlement landscape of Perak when the state came under British rule: (a) those Malay settlements which were physically separated from the mining areas, and therefore less influenced by the Chinese miners, continued to possess all the characteristics of rural settlements. (b) those Malay settlements which, by reason of location, felt the force of the mining activities and of the immigrants, adjusted to the new situation. (c) the mining areas which contained some elemental urban traits at the outset developed rapidly into urban centres.

It was the mining areas which were to forge ahead to become the core area of urban development. Writing of these areas, Swettenham talked of 'the advancing prosperity of the country, the rapid development of new and old mining fields', the connections provided by roads and the springing up of 'many populous towns'.[2] In contrast, the traditional settlements were left out of the mainstream of development; and those settlements which fell under category (b) above were of less importance in the later development of cities and towns in the state. They largely remained the traditional kampongs and later operated very much outside the spatial economy brought about by the colonial-immigrant efforts

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(1) Knaggs, W. (1875), 'A Visit to Perak', The Journal of Eastern Asia, Vol. I, No. I, p.30.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), op.cit. p.261.

through the improvement of the transport networks.

The Catalyst to Development: Transport Networks

The rich tin ores, the large number of Chinese miners and the political stability conducive to productive and exchange economy following the British rule, combined to set the stage for the mining settlements to 'mushroom' and the existing ones to develop into a more sophisticated form, but the actual crystalization of the mining camps into urban settlements required a better transport network than what was in existence at the time. The development of communication was crucial to the urban process both in the new mining areas and the old settled districts.

The significance of land communication can be better understood if it is seen against the backdrop of the environment, the inhabitants and the development of the mining techniques. When referring to the twenty-seven-mile road from Larut to Kuala Kangsar, McNair remarks that "the mention of a road some twenty-seven miles in extent may sound a trifle, but in a land where the rivers form almost the sole means of inter-communication, the existence of one good road (setting aside the military advantages) means the opening out of the country to a new form of traffic".[1] It's significance to urban development is self-explanatory.

Perak, with an area of 10,000 square miles, had at the middle of

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(1) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. pp.13-4.

1870s, only one road about twelve miles long, passing from the See Kuan minrd, through the Go Kuan village, down to the landing-place on the river estuary, and a branch of six miles from this road to the village and the residence of the Malay chief of Larut district.[1] Larut apart there was only jungle tracks.[2] The Malay villagers, who lived on the banks of the rivers, used them as the highways. The country folk moved about but little, for they knew the difficulties. The commerce was by the rivers, and the volume involved was small, 'Even in the villages', observed Swettenham, 'it was practically impossible to buy anything except an old hen'.[3] The need of better and faster means of transport did not arise. The waterways supplemented by elephant tracks seemed sufficient for a near self-contained peasant economy. The elephant-tracks were mostly in places convenient for carrying tin to the nearest market, and bringing in in opposite direction rice, salt and salt-fish.[4]

There were not many elephant-tracks. One of the important tracks led from Boyal to Kinta, a place of significance, by virtue of its being the old seat of the Government of Perak. This track, about forty miles long, passed through several villages. Blanja was considered a better served place in terms of land communication for it was linked by elephant-tracks and pathway to the sea via the rivers Trong and Dinding

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(1) Swettenham, F. (1906), op.cit. p.118.
(2) Ibid. p.119.
(3) Ibid.
(4) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. p.16.

as well as Kinta in the interior.[1]

But with the arrival of the large-scale non-agricultural mining communities, the existing means of communication were far from adequate to meet the demand. Tin ores were mined mostly in the foothills, foodstuffs and equipments had to be brought in and the tin product sent out, links between the mining settlements and the rivers had to be provided for. The waterways were not always the shortest or the easiest lines of transporting the commodities. Jungle tracks, bridle paths, cart roads were created, if not already existed, in response to the new demand. With the development of the mining industry, lines of communication had to be strenghtened. Road construction became imperative as tin product provided the bulk of the state revenue.

The low cost system of dirt tracks first introduced into Selangor in 1882-3, was soon adopted in Perak and other states. Taiping was among the first three mining centres (the others were Kuala Lumpur and Seremban) from which cart roads were constructed to join the nearest navigable-way in the earliest attempt to open the country. This was followed, in Perak as well as in other states by the construction of a network of roads from the mining centres to all the nearest and richest known mining fields.[2] The effect of the road-construction was electric. A bridle road was sooner completed than small houses, plantations, and

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(1) Ibid. p.15.
(2) Swettenham, F. (1906), British Malaya, London, p.237.

fruit and vegetable gardens sprang up along its whole length,[1] and until the construction of roads, the land had no market value outside the towns,[2] and now apparently in anticipation of the road becoming a great highway when it was widened and metalled, 'villages sprang up beside, and the land served by the road appreciated in value'.[3]

The road-making was accompanied by more important effort affecting urban development. All over the country the building of villages were encouraged and small towns were laid out around the district headquarters, shops and markets were built, and everything was done to induce the people to believe in the permanence of the new institutions.[4] This indeed ushered in a period of urban process and town-planning unknown in the history of the country, as recalled by Swettenham, 'As the villages grew and the roads joined up the various mining fields and scattered hamlets, village councils, self-styled Sanitary Boards were instituted'. Together, these institutions helped regulate the markets, sanitation, slaughter-houses, laundries, water supply and the hundred and one improvements of rapidly growing centres of population.[5]

Two things stood out clearly in constrast to the rural settlements already existed. First, these settlements were intended right from their

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(1) Ibid. p.238.
(2) Ibid. p.236.
(3) Ibid. pp.238-9.
(4) Ibid. p.239.
(5) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), op.cit. p.239.

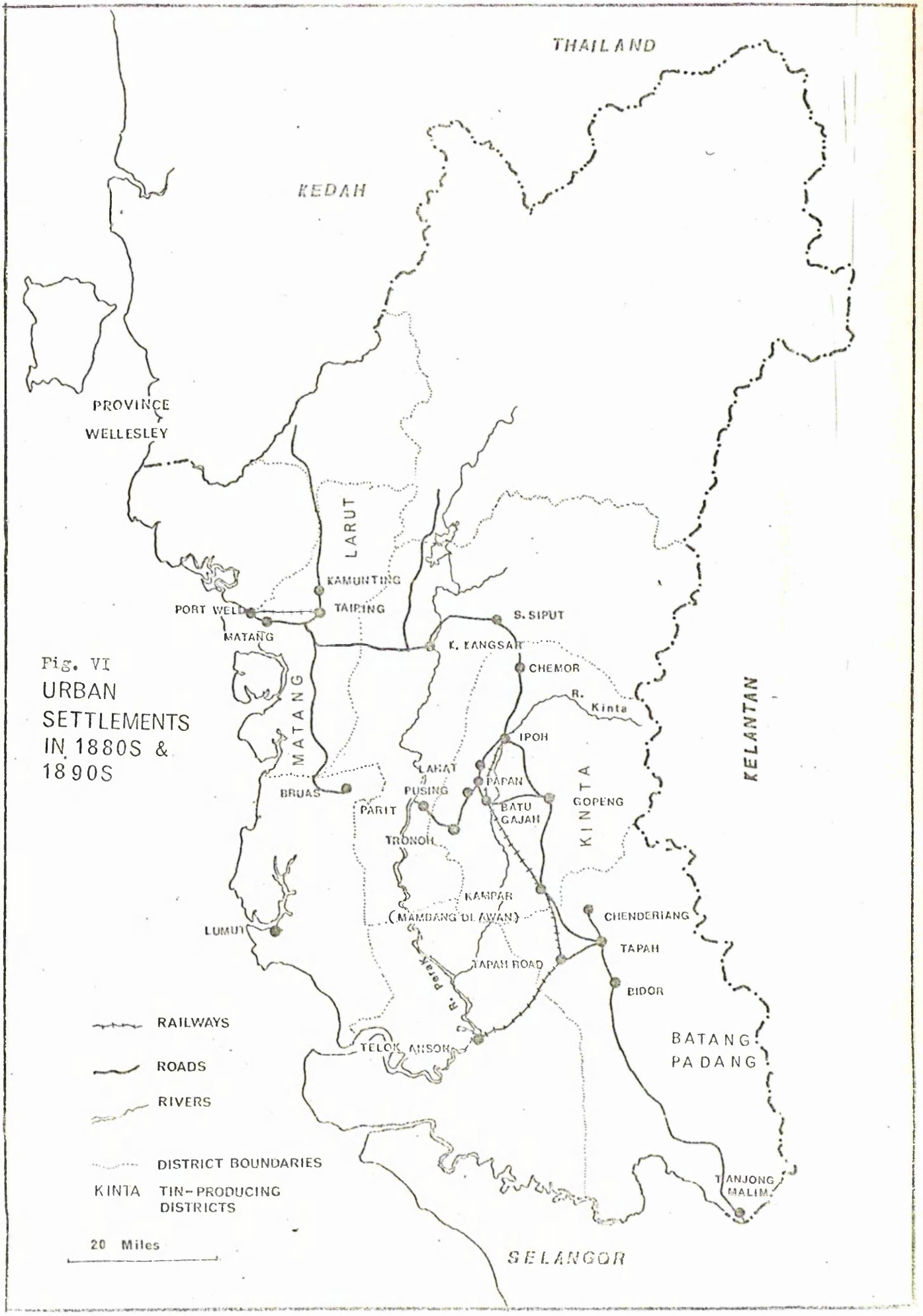

Fig. VI
URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN 1880S & 1890S

inceptions, to be urban centres of permanent nature with corresponding, functions, and residents were encouraged to take part in the development of the centres as manifested in multi-racial boards responsible for the municipal administration. Secondly, the individual centres were set within a broader regional framework so they did not come into being 'on their own' and stayed isolated as the earlier settlements did. Apart from roads and later on railways, the telegraphs and the post offices which were provided almost for as soon as the centres were ready for them, also contributed to link the centres closely among themselves and brought them into contact with other centres outside the region.

Perak fared well in the development of communications by virtue of its numerous mining centres. The communication facilities in return stimulated the existing centres to grow and called into being new ones. The first existing cart road in the state, from Taiping to the Port of Matang (Larut District), was put in order. It was extended to Kamunting and then through the agricultural district of Krian to Province Wellesley. Kuala Kangsar was put in communication with Taiping by means of a cart road, joining Taiping-Matang road at Simpang. Gopeng had at the same time linked up with Kinta River, while Kuala Kangsar had earlier been connected to the river by excellent road, and on to Ipoh, Gopeng, Tapah and all the way down to Tanjong Malim on Selangor border.

Horizontally, Setiawan and Lumut were connected to the state road system, and north of Kuala Kangsar the cart road was extended to join

Kota Tampan and northern boundary, while branches from the Kinta main roads were opened to link the promising mining fields. The system was to provide a main trunk road running north west to south east from Province Wellesley to Selangor, with a northern road to Upper Perak and a southern road to Trong and parallel to Bruas and Setiawan.[1]

The eight-mile track from Port Weld to Taiping was the first railway constructed in Perak, indeed in the peninsula. The line was later extended to Ulu Sapetang through nearer mines. This was followed by a fifty-mile line from Telok Anson to Ipoh. The railway though facing competition from the main roads, which in some cases run parallel to it, carrying goods mainly for export or imported, proved to be able to pay off in its early years of existence and had the effect of reinforcing the growth and the importance of the centres it served.

By the beginning of the 1890s Perak could boast of systematic comprehensive and efficient roads with a considerable railway. By 1893, there was no important village or mining centre in the state of Perak that was not in communication with every other similar place by means of a first class road.[2]

So the large-scale immigrant mining activities, the British administration and the concomitant development of communications combined to change drastically the settlement landscape. The existing mining

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), About Perak, Singapore, pp.20-1.
(2) Ibid. p.25.

agglomerations crystalized into urban centres and new towns were called into life. Taiping, Kamunting and Ipoh, to name only the most prominent, became urban centres at this time, owing invariably their origin to mining. Telok Anson and Tapah were not themselves mining centres, nevertheless thrived on mining activities in the interior or the neighbouring areas.

The forces released by the colonial-immigrant complex were thus at work: exerting themselves fully through the springing-up, the growth and the fluctuation of the individual mining and mining-supported towns, to which attention will be turned in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF INDIVIDUAL CENTRES

The first two decades (1874-1895) of British Rule witnessed in Perak the coming into existence, and the proliferation of a series of urban settlements and an impressive growth of some individual centres. This period also saw almost in the same breath the physical modernization and the functional diversification of these centres created on an impermanent basis for a single economic function. It was a typical case of circular causation. The springing up of the interior towns and colonial ports in response to the mining activities, and the influx of the immigrants necessitated the development of a more sophisticated transport network in the form of roads and railways for effective political control and economic efficiency. The development of the transport network in turn stimulated more centres to come into life and provided a closer spatial integration among the centres. The political framework and the infrastructure thus created ensured a certain degree of closeness within the state boundary which enhanced the integrative tendency inside Perak. All these added up to the crystallization of the urban centres scattered around Taiping and Ipoh, a pattern perpetuates itself to this day; and the making of an integral urban system within the state which forms an important part of the present national urban system.

There was another dimension of the urban development during this

period that had a lasting effect on later development: the establishment of the Sanitary Boards in various centres. The Boards left a deep mark on urban development with repercussions which went far beyond the sanitary and medical confines. The controlled development exerted by the Boards had in its nature the function of planning. The layout and the morphology of the towns under the care of the Boards gave shape to the future development in the state and throughout the country.

This first two decades of urban development in Perak marked itself off from later development and development in other states. The number of centres springing up and rapidity with which they grew were scarcely matched by other states; and the scale that most of these centres thrived and prospered directly and indirectly on the rich tin mines was not repeated in later development with the sole exception of Selangor. The dynamic dimension of urban development manifested in the springing up, the burning down, the initial development and the re-development, the uncontrolled mushrooming and the partial planning under the Sanitary Boards, the change of relative importance and the shift of centre of gravity...in quick succession, was unparalleled in the country.

Yet another feature which distinguished the development during this period was the integrative and concerted growth of centres within the state boundary independent of development elsewhere. This coincided

with, or perhaps was conditioned by the stage of transport development of the time, which could be placed between the second and the third phases of the sequency of transport development in underdeveloped countries characterized by Taaffe and his associates.[1] The development of the penetration lines and port concentration had been achieved, the development of 'feeders' and lateral interconnection was, however, confined to the state and the national 'main streets' crossing the state boundaries had yet to come.[2] When they did come the urban scene in the state was brought out of its comparative insulation and a major adjustment of spatial organization ensued.

Urban development is of course a continuous process rather than a series of discrete historical phases, but the developmental process is far from uniform over time, its intensity and rapidity vary with the operating forces and factors. For Perak the year 1895 marked the beginning of a new era as the state, together with Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, was to come under a new political structure known as the Federated Malay States (F.M.S.).

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(1) Taaffe, E.J., Morrill, R.L. and Gould, P.R. (1963), 'Transport Expansion in Under-developed Countries: A Comparative Analysis', The Geographical Review, Vol. LIII, No. 4, pp.503-29.

(2) Ibid. See also Ward, M.W. (1969), 'Progress in Transport Geography', in Cooke, R.U. and Johnson, H. Trends in Geography, Pergamon Press, pp.167-8.

The implications as far as urban development was concerned were many. Under the old separate administration since 1874, the state was largely responsible for its own development, which resulted in certain degree of closeness with concomitant inward-looking urban development. The development of roads and railway linking the coast with the mining centres within the state boundary also reinforced the integrative but isolated connection. The new governmental structure of the F.M.S. aimed at co-ordinating policy, particularly with respect to road and rail construction and the supervision of the Chinese immigrants, in the area as a whole.[1] And sure enough, within a few years the outlines of a federal road and railway system began to emerge.

The immediate impact on the urban development was the choice of the mining town of Kuala Lumpur in central Selangor as the capital of the F.M.S. This at once removed the otherwise political and commercial concentration in Ipoh which would have spurred it to develop into a primate city on the mainland. On the other hand, however, had Ipoh been selected as the capital and grew at a faster rate to a larger size, the nearby medium-sized towns such as Kuala Kangsar, Sungei Siput, Batu Gajah and Kampar would have lived under its shadow and found themselves at the receiving end of the 'choking effect'.

On the whole the urban development during the twenty years up to

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.597.

1911 could be characterized internally as a period of settling down, and stable development, and externally as a period of readjustment as a result of the development of transport network. The sudden springing up and mushrooming of towns during the previous period was over, most of the towns underwent redevelopment and improvement in the process of growth.

Externally the rapid development of transport network had brought most of the centres closer together within the state as well as outside the state. The individual centres were now more sensitive to change in other centres or in district further away. A major re-shuffling of locational merits and spatial relationship were effected by the railways and roads. Some towns gained importance at other's expense while a few were jerked into life as a result of road development. The picture in terms of size and relative importance of urban centres differed from that of the 1895's.

The urban development since 1911 was set against a different perspective. The proportion of urban population to the total population in the state at the census years of 1911, 1921 and 1931 were 23.4%, 22.9% and 25.6% respectively,[1] the increase was small and close to the F.M.S. averages (21.5%; 22.4% and 25.4%), while the number of towns with population over 1,000 for the same years were 24, 25 and 37

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(1) Vlieland, C.A. (1932), British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics, London. p.45.

respectively. Perak was still the leading state in the F.M.S. in terms of the number of towns, but in terms of the proportion of urban population to the total, Selangor had now been firmly in the lead.

Tin had ceased to be the sole 'support' of the towns while rubber and other agricultural produces began to assume an increasingly important role in consolidating the economic base of the urban centres. The rank-size distribution of the urban centres, reflecting the changed situation of the growth--contribution factors, was now less mineral--oriented and more akin to the pattern implied by the central place theory. However, historical inertia was obvious, the older centres still dominated the urban scene.

The growth or otherwise of the individual towns were subject to forces operating away from the immediate vicinity beyond the state boundary. The individual centres were now part of a spatial structure. The urban development in Perak, was, in a nutshell, an integral part of the evolution of the urban system of the entire country.

This then was the evolutionary sketch of Perak before it was overtaken by Selangor as the leading state in British Malaya in terms of urban development. It should also be borne in mind that throughout these phases of development of the modern urban centres, the traditional settlements in the state were experiencing a continued period of relative retardation. Indeed, the comparative stagnation and decline of the traditional kampongs were as striking as the mushrooming and the rapid

growth of the mining or mining-induced towns. To some extent the stagnation and decline of the former kampongs were the result of the 'backwash' caused by the flourishing of the newly established mining towns. Evidently not all the developments made necessary by the new centres were conducive to the continued growth of the traditional settlements.

Principal Centres In The 1890s

The various forces at work and the resultant developments outlined in the preceding pages could be seen through the vicissitudes of some of the individual centres, to which this chapter intends to focus its attention. It would be useful perhaps, before looking closely into the individual centres, to briefly view the general setting of the urban scene before the turn of the century.

The information as regards 'the principal towns and villages',[1] given in the Perak Government Gazette of 1891, provides a convenient check point. It is clear from Table 2 that for the first fifteen years or so of the British Rule, the urban scene in the state was dominated by the mining towns and their exporting ports. The comparatively large settlements listed by Newbold (see previous chapter) with a few exceptions had dropped out of sight. The surviving traditional

(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1891.

TABLE 2

Principal Towns and Villages in Perak, 1891

Town or Village	1891 Population[1]				Previous Population[2]	1901 Population[3]
	Total	Malays	Chinese	Indians		
Taiping	13,304	411	8,764	3,549	5,000(1874)	13,331
Telok Ensom	3,373	1,204	1,368	606	-	3,134
Ipoh	3,184	407	2,389	340	2,000(1889)	12,791
Gopeng	2,870	278	2,114	426	-	3,157
Kamunting	2,608	18	2,383	202	4,000(1874)	@
Lahat	2,232	30	2,036	149	-	2,530
Batu Gajah	2,135	963	739	358	-	3,261
Tapah	1,630	807	561	180	-	2,244
Matang	1,289	308	812	164	-	@
Papan	1,218	113	1,076	29	-	2,441
Kuala Kangsar	952	208	400	292	500(1850)	1,157
Parit Buntar	881	124	503	184	-	@
Pasir Hitam	650	76	574	-	-	@
Kuala Selama	278	174	30	52	-	@
Port Weld	266	96	82	55	-	@

Sources:

(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1891.

(2) From various sources, see text.

(3) Hare, G.T. (1902), Federated Malay States Census of Population, 1901, Kuala Lumpur.

@: Population less than 1,000.

settlements large enough, which were rare, to withstand the 'chocking' effect of the new development were supported by the administrative role or recently developed agriculture. Even then, the settlements, which might for the time being retained their traditional character and morphology, were not insulated from the influence of the immigrants as manifested in the changing demographic composition.

The racial composition of the settlement tells the story from a different angle. Settlements with a large Malay population were partially engaged in non-mining activities, such as Telok Anson, Batu Gajah, Tapah and to a lesser extent, Port Weld. The mining towns contained largely the immigrant population, especially Chinese. Kuala Kangsar was the exception to the rule, which remained typically 'Malay' in terms of morphology and setting, in spite of large Chinese population. This is due to the fact that although it was not a mining centre it was centrally located in relation to the mining districts of Larut and Kinta, and riverine Malay population concentration along the Perak river.

The size-distribution pattern of the centres shows within a regional context, a tendency towards primacy at the top with Taiping standing head and shoulder above others, and a cluster of medium-size centres and tailing off of the minor settlements, far from approaching the rank-size distribution. If Kuala Kangsar could be taken as 'orthogenetic' political and administrative capital in a narrow sense, and Taiping was more a 'heterogenetic' capital during this limited period.

The distribution pattern could indeed be attributed to few simple strong forces which affected urban development. The over-riding factor of Taiping's initial importance was undoubtedly the mining industry, but the political and administrative functions afforded to it were the life-giving prop once tin production began to decline.

The intra-centre and inter-centre communications, apart from the development of roads and railways had greatly improved during the first two decades of the urban development in the state. The mileage of the metalled, unmetalled cart roads, the bridle road were daily increasing in most of the districts. The total mileage of cart roads, in the state was 278 in 1890, it rose to 369 in 1891, not counting over 300 miles of bridle roads. The upgrading of the roads too was remarkable, as the following figures show:

TABLE 3

Road Development (1891-1894)

Type of Roads	1891	1892	1893	1894
Metalled cart roads	208	260	300	331
Unmetalled cart roads	161	114	99	122
Bridle roads	312	279	276	

Source: Perak Government Gazette, 1894.

To these must be added the traditional waterways. Larut and Kinta fared better than other districts in road transport. Taiping, Ipoh and Batu Gajah enjoyed the accessibility by 'first class road', while Port Weld and Telok Anson enjoyed in addition, the advantages of waterways and railways. The modes of transportation ranged from the time-honoured elephants to goods trains. Included in between were wheel-barrows, carts, horses, gharries, bullock buses and boats. The gharry and bullock bus services were available within the centres, between centres, in all the principal villages and the mines. Taiping Ominbus Company providing service between Taiping and Kuala Kangsar was in operation in 1888. The important centres and stations were, as time went on progressively linked by modern means of communication, the telegraph and the telephone, postal service became common in the late eighties in the centres.[1]

By 1893 Perak was,with the exception of the remote areas, considerably knitted by different means of communication through various forms of transport network. Thus, the urban centres and the principal villages in the state were intimately inter-acted among themselves but as a whole development was still independent of the progress made in other states. Soon,however, the national road and railway systems coupled by the expansion of tin mining in Selangor and the subsequent shift of national political centre to that state, served to break down the comparative isolation of urban development in Perak, bringing it closer to the country-wide urban system which was to emerge at the turn of the century.

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1888, Vol. I, No. 4, p.68.

But for Perak in the early nineties, this was still remote.

Shift of Centre of Importance

The urban scene during the eighties and the nineties was far from static. The dynamic dimension of the development and the shift of centre of gravity were evident both in the districts and in the individual towns. Figures showing the returns of the town and village lots for permanent occupation, the money orders issued and centres with post and telegraph office indicate the trends.

TABLE 4

Returns of Town and Village Lots for Permanent Occupation

Dictrict	1889	1891	1893	1895
Larut	2,394	1,320	1,232	1,270
Matang	-	-	219	263
Kuala Kangsar	157	174	231	220
Upper Perak	-	3	4	9
Kinta	969	1,088	1,676	2,306
Lower Perak	397	376	397	415
Batang Padang	592	563	407	413
Krian	217	250	240	245
Selama	103	106	111	114
Perak State	4,829	3,880	4,517	5,255

Sources: Perak Government Gazette, 1890, 1894, 1895 and Perak Annual Report, 1891.

Table 4 indicates that in terms of development of towns and villages, the early starter such as Larut district (the figures for Matang was formerly included in Larut's) had reached its peak and showed signs of decline. Batang Padang likewise did not live up to its earlier expectation as mines were not as rich as speculated, and the urban development in the district had only a false start. The late comer Kinta with the rich mines providing a strong base for development, forged steadily ahead when others began to slide back.

Kuala Kangsar district which was not tied directly to the mining industry, did not show a spectacular beginning, nor did it suffer when the centre of mining shifted from Larut to Kinta. In fact its central position enabled it to benefit from the shift, though only marginally. With the mines in Kinta in full production and further development of roads and railways, a new economic boom was anticipated in the middle of the nineties. The figures reflecting the trend and the areas of the rapid growth put Kinta district clearly in the lead.

Table 5 which reflects the relative importance and the economic strength of the individual centres, confirms the gradual shift of gravity from Larut to Kinta. Ipoh was clearly on its way up to replace Taiping as the leading town in the state.

The returns of money orders reveal, apart from the degree of connectivity and prosperity, the individual centres, the character of these centres and their changing importance in relation to one another.

As was expected the administrative centres and the immigrant-dominated mining towns show a higher return and the rise and fall of the figures reflect quite accurately the shift of the relative political and economic importance of the centres.

TABLE 5

Money Orders Issued: 1891-1895

Towns	1891		1893		1895	
	No.	Value($)	No.	Value($)	No.	Value($)
Taiping	2,570	60,977	2,775	57,227	3,863	94,956
Kuala Kangsar	607	14,038	565	11,992	644	11,253
Ipoh	539	15,883	1,290	38,072	2,929	119,495
Batu Gajah	930	23,357	1,558	37,584	1,700	37,408
Gopeng	352	11,178	641	12,604	919	39,898
Tapah	394	6,346	454	7,248	507	8,220
Telok Anson	665	13,803	969	21,813	1,063	25,440
Parit Buntar	275	5,818	258	4,481	414	6,119
Lahat	3	26	220	4,544	305	7,654
Kampar	-	-	131	1,717	576	14,806
P. Rengas	-	-	-	-	156	2,064
K. Kurau	-	-	-	-	108	1,069
Bagan Serai	-	-	-	-	168	1,689

Sources: Annual Reports of the State of Perak, 1891-1895.

TABLE 6

Centres with Post and Telegraph Office

1889		1891	
Centre With P & T Office	Places Under its Care	Centre With P & T Office	Places Under its Care
Taiping	Kamunting Tupai	Taiping	Kamunting Tupai Chenket Jerin Simpang Bukit Gantang
K. Kangsar	Salak	K. Kangsar	Salak Enggor Kamunting Padang Rengas
Batu Gajah	Papan Lahat Ipoh Gopeng Klian Lalang	Batu Gajah	Papan Pusing Kota Bharu
Tapah	Chenderiang	Tapah	Chenderiang K. Lipis (outside Perak)
Telok Anson	Kota Stia Pangkor	Telok Anson	Kota Stia Pangkor
Parit Buntar		Parit Buntar	Selama Bagan Serai K. Kurau
		Gopeng	Klian Lalang Sungei Raya K. Dipong
		Ipoh	Siliban Sungei Raya Menglambu Tekka
		Tanjong Malim	Slim
Matang			
Port Weld			

Sources: Perak Government Gazette, 1889 & 1891.

Table 6 shows most vividly the competition to be the central place of higher order. The acquisition or loss of the post & telegraph offices reflected the changing importance of the individual centres. Taiping's continued importance in spite of Ipoh's rise, and the growth of Ipoh and Gopeng at the expense of Batu Gajah were evident.

Sanitary Boards & Urban Planning

The establishment of the Sanitary Boards during the nineties represent an important milestone in terms of urban control and planning in the state. The sudden springing up and the rapid development of the towns, over-crowding, the lack of sanitation and wide-spread disease and fire had for sometimes caused concern among the administrators. It was recommended that a check should put on these townships. The Sanitary Board was thus called into being.

The establishment of the Sanitary Boards was the first concerted effort to deal with urban development in all aspects with planning implications. The earlier attempts such as Health Office, conditions of sale of town lots etc. represented only a piecemeal and scattered endeavour with localised effect. The system of Sanitary Boards, which started in 1892, extended to all the principal towns and villages a year later, had profound and far-reaching effects throughout the state. Apart from the inhabitants who benefited greatly from the sanitary and public health arrangements, the towns on the whole were at the receiving

end as reported in the Government Gazette:

> 'No one who early in 1893 visited the townships now under the care of the Boards could fail to be struck with the vast improvements that have been effected in the appearance of the towns...'1

The vast improvements effected were by the by-laws of the Sanitary Boards, which among other things required that of new buildings or for alternations to old buildings must be submitted for inspection of the Boards, and buildings in town limits shall be constructed in accordance with general plan of the town in design and materials.[2]

These requirements had the effect of standardizing, to some extent, the buildings in the individual towns and the appearance of the individual towns in the state. An 'urban' appearance was added to the town which probably wore the image of a mining settlement a decade or two ago. More important, however, is the fact that the centres thus regulated, were on a more permanent basis and were made for efficient urban functioning. Other requirements set out by the Boards also helped reinforce the morphology and the functioning of these urban centres.[3]

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1896, Vol. 9, p.484.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p.966.
(3) The regulations stipulated that (i) No atap construction of any kind will be allowed within town limits, without special permission of the Board. (ii) Dangerous or ruinous buildings will not be allowed within town limits, and must be entirely removed within seven days of receipt of the order to do so.

Besides, the Boards were entrusted to take charge of the making, repairing, cleaning, draining, watering and lighting streets and roads, the construction and maintenance of canals and bridges and the planting and preservation of trees, the establishment and regulations of markets and other items relating to urban developments.[1] And to meet the cost of the Sanitary Boards, an annual rate not exceeding 5% of the annual value were imposed upon all houses and buildings within each town which had a board.

As a direct result of the system of Sanitary Boards, many of the less important towns in the state witnessed the establishment of public market, the introduction of effectual drainage system, of water supply and the installation of street lighting some of these long overdued, while the provision of which had long enjoyed by bigger centres like Taiping and Kamunting.

Indirectly, the implementation of the Sanitary Board's regulations gave rise to the needs of delimitation of towns boundaries and surveys of townships. The boundaries map of Taiping was drawn in 1893.[2] By 1895, the boundaries of the lesser towns such as Parit Buntar, Bagan Serai and Kurau had also been fixed[3] while the townships of Papan and Kampar were surveyed.[4]

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p.539.
(2) Ibid. p.783.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1894, Vol. 7, p.395.
(4) Perak Government Gazette, 1895, Vol. 8, p.318.

The rapidity and the intensity of scheme being carried out could be testified by the case of Sungei Siput. This place was reported to have 'sprung up' as recently as 1893,[1] its township was being surveyed in 1894-5.[2] Generally the Sanitary Boards experiment 'has proved decidedly satisfactory', for the sanitation of all towns and villages had been improved and the long neglected municipal affairs were taken care of.[3]

The Sanitary Board also put a stop to the spread of what was then known as the 'contagious disease' the towns suffered--fire. The prevention of the construction of atap house and the use of inflamable material within town limits went a long way to reduce the hazard of towns falling victim to the blaze. But ironically perhaps, by the time Sanitary Boards were introduced to all the principal centres of population in the state, fire had already taken its heavy tolls in many of the older settlements[4] and 'helped' many an old town to speed up its modernization. The removal of the atap houses 'at a stroke' by accidental fire made the change easier.

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p.154.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1895, Vol. 8, p.318.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1895.
(4) In 1893 alone, a series of fire took place. Tapah fell victim several times, eight small atap shops were burnt down at Ampang, and thirty atap houses were raged to the ground at Pusing Bharu.

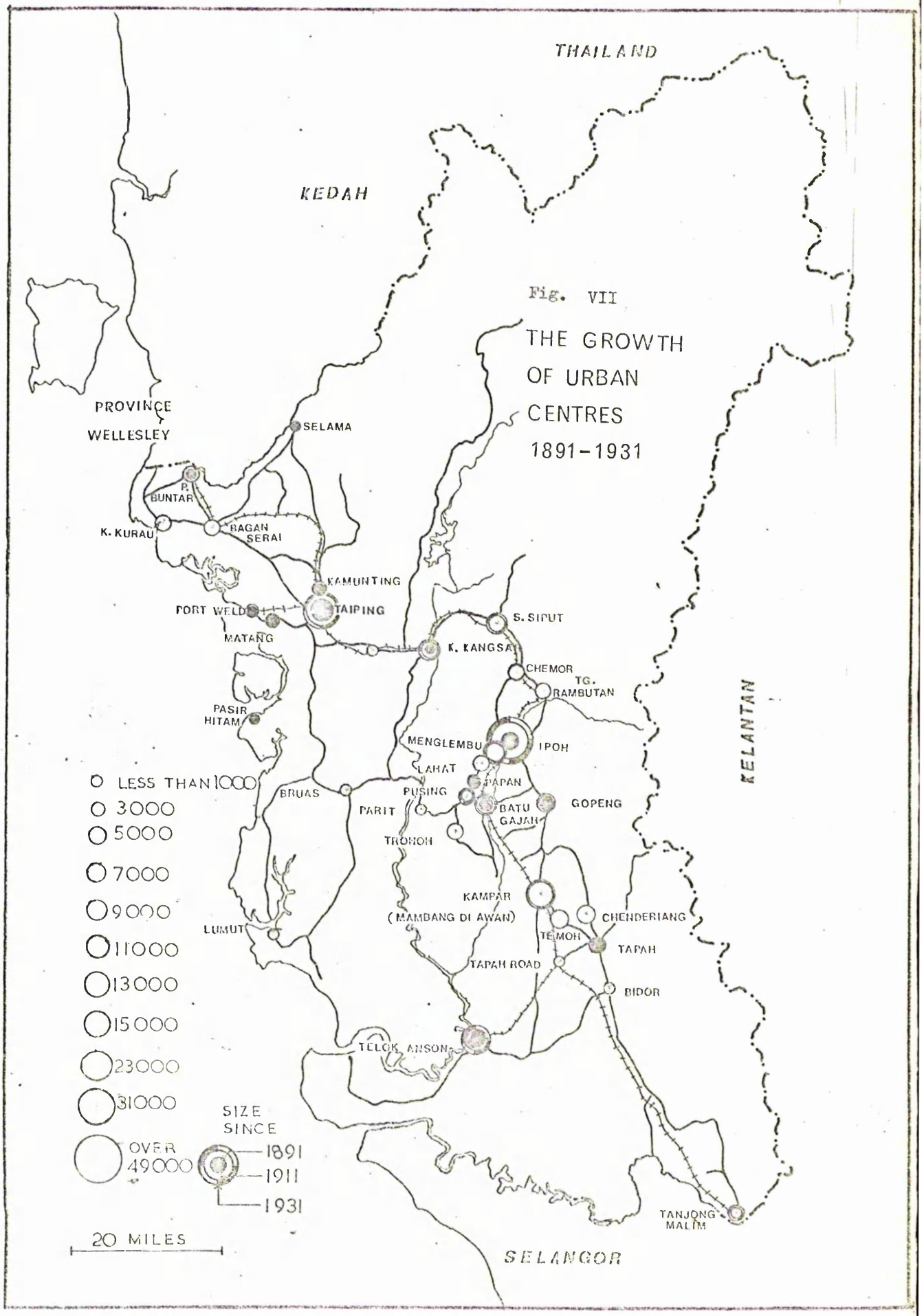

Fig. VII

THE GROWTH OF URBAN CENTRES 1891-1931

The Individual Centres:

Various aspects of the urban development and the driving forces behind it could be seen through the growth and fluctuation of the individual centres. The following centres represent some of the key nodes in the 'surface' development in the state on which the interplay of such forces was reflected in varying degrees.

Taiping

Taiping is one of the oldest modern town whose origin and early development epitomises the history of urban development in the state. The settlement dates back to 1840 when Long Jaahfar, a Malay chief, came to settle near the present town site at a time when there were only three Chinese in the whole district of Larut. When a rich tin mine was discovered at the present site, Jaafar invited the Chinese miners from Penang to work the mine, which marked the beginning of 'tin rush' in Perak. The mine, known as Klian Pauh was where Taiping now stands while a new mine a few miles away, called Klian Baharu, was the origin of the present day Kamunting.

The influx of the Chinese miners to Klian Pauh and Klian Baharu after the discovery was so great that the Mentri of Larut was unable to keep control of the mining districts. The Chinese miners soon divided into factions and fights broke out frequently among themselves.

The two main warring factions Ghee Hin (義興) and Hai San (海山) were grouped on a tribal basis--the former mostly Cantonese and the latter, mostly Hakkas, with secret-society allegiance. The mines at Klian Pauh were being worked by Hai San men and the Kamunting mines by the Ghee Hin men, both places had since 1860s developed into Chinese villages. The bloody faction-fights between Ghen Hin and Hai San were first for the exclusive possession of the tin-fields of Larut, but with the Mentri's opportunistic sidings with the victors which constantly changed, and his involvement in the state's ruling house, the fightings became mixed up with the question of the succession to the throne of Perak.[1] And now the battle did not confine to Larut. The once prosperous Larut was soon in ruins and, 'the village and every isolated house had been burnt down, almost every mine had stopped work...'[2]

The return of peace in 1874 following the British intervention in the Malay states was accompanied by a large influx of Chinese and a small but appreciable Malay immigrant which led to a boom of house-construction in Larut. In order to introduce an orderly and peaceful lopment, Captain Speedy laid out a site for a new town in each of the two mining areas--the town in Klian Pauh was called 'Taiping', and the town in Klian Baharu took the name of 'Kamunting', a Malay name of the locality.

'Taiping' is the Chinese word for 'ever-lasting peace', apparently

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(1) Purcell, V. (1967), The Chinese in Malaya, pp.106-7.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), op.cit. pp.123-4.

thus called in the hope that the name would be an augury.[1] It was built like the original settlement before the Larut war, in one long street of atap huts, with 250 very nice-looking houses, going up on both sides of a good street and they all looked alike.

The population of the town was estimated at 5,000 wich included significantly 1,000 shopkeepers.[2] This was clear indication that Taiping was not rebuilt to be just another mining settlement. But it did not last. As was common of many towns in the mining areas in those days, Taiping was twice burnt down. The present town was rebuilt in brick for the first time after a fire in 1880.

Although it had from the beginning all the paraphernalia of a modern urban centre, Taiping was unmistakenly a frontier mining town with overwhelming Chinese population geared to a single economic function, as was evidenced by Bird's description:

> 'Taiping is a thriving place, of over six thousand inhabitants, solely Chinese, with the exception of a small Kling population which keeps small shops, lends money, drives gharries and bullock-carts and washes clothes--They (the inhabitants) are miners, except those who keep innumerable shops which supply the miners and some of them rich. Taiping is tolerably empty during the day, but at dusk, when miners return, the street and gambling dens are crowded, and the usual babel of Chinese tongues begins...There were scarcely any Malays in the town...'[3]

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1953)[b], 'Captain Speedy of Larut', JMBRAS, Vol. 26, Part III, p.54.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), op.cit. p.44. See Gullick, J.M.(1953)[b], op.cit. p.54.
(3) Bird, I.L. (1883), The Golden Chersonese and the way thither, London, p.282.

But Taiping grew fast and shook off its 'frontier' image in less than two decades. In the early nineties, it had become the capital of the state, boasting of the headquarters of the British Resident and of various government departments.[1] It was then a town with wide Ansenna-shaded street, markets, railway station, public buildings, barracks, prisons, museum, hospitals, the dwellings of the European community,[2] church, schools, hotels[3] and a bank.[4] The physical betterment and functional diversification were matched by 'swelling' of the population size and change of racial composition. The inhabitants had soared to 14,000, with nearly 9,000 Chinese, more than 3,000 Indians and a sizable Malay, European and Eurasion community. It was believed that twice that total, mainly Chinese, lived in the mining fields within a radius of two miles,[5] many of them 'daily frequent the streets' of the town.[6]

The change was as starling as it was symbolic. The mining industry provided the economic base of the town, the administrative and commercial functions helped stablize and made permanent its urban status while the development of communications fostered its rapid growth. The combination

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(1) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.194.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.20.
(3) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.195.
(4) McLarty, M.F. (1893), Affairs of the Colony, Penang, p.125. The first bank in Perak was the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, established in Taiping in 1888.
(5) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.194.
(6) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.37.

of these forces brought Taiping, a name scarcely heard of in 1874,[1] in less than two decades, to the fore of the nascent urban development in Perak.

But the same forces working more forcefully in favour of other centres soon subject it to play second fiddle in a more developed stage of urban growth in the state. Of these forces the administrative role imposed and later removed by the colonial government had perhaps the most abruptive impact on the rise and decline of Taiping. Swettenham remarked in 1893 that had the government not decided to fix its head-quarters at Taiping with its principal buildings, the town could already have sank into a village of small importance.[2]

However, for the first twenty years of urban development in Perak, Taiping was setting the pace in the transformation of the frontier mining settlements into a more settled and permanent urban centres.[3] In the face of general stagnation in Larut district, it held out considerably well.

The Sanitary Board report of 1898 suggested a substantial town improvement, fifty-five atap houses were pulled down and forty-six new buildings erected nearly all brick houses of a substantial kind. Cattle carts and other carriages were replaced by more advanced rickshaw.[4]

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(1) Parkinson, C.N. (1964), British Intervention in Malaya 1867-1877, Kuala Lumpur, p.211.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.38.
(3) See Ryan, N.J. (1959), Malaya Through Four Centuries, London, p.120.
(4) Perak Government Gazette, 1898, Vol. II, p.238.

The construction of macadamized roads, and the provision of state-supported hospitals were perhaps some of the improvements which won for itself the praise being the town leading 'the van of civilization in the native states'. A traveller remarked that the roads were kept in such good repair that they 'would put to shame many a London thoroughfare'.[1] It had also become an important transport centre with the development of railway. More quarters for the railway staff were built in the town and the headquarters of the resident engineer were moved from Batu Gajah to Taiping because it was more 'central and convenient'.[2]

The change from a frontier mining town to a settled community was discernible:

> '...the inhabitants are employed and occupied in various ways. The bustling merchant is superintending the loading of a hand-cart with bright shining slabs of tin...There are blacksmith shop, carpenter...medicine shop, cloth merchants, rice dealers... The market is crowded with miscellaneous goods, jewellers, barbers, shoemakers, jinricksha...coolie.[3]

In spite of its status as the capital of the state, easily accessible by roads and by railways, Taiping had by the first-decade of this century lost its dominating position. The commerce of the state, once concentrated in Taiping was now distributed in different localities while mining, once the main support of the town, was now of secondary importance.[4]

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(1) Rathborne, A.B. (1898), Camping and Tramping in Malaya, London, p.222.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1898.
(3) Rathborne, A.B. (1898), op.cit. pp.229-30.
(4) Belfield, H.C. (1906), Handbook of the Federated Malay States, London, p.77.

Although there was complaint of over crowding, and appeal to build more houses, nothing substantial materialized.

Taiping experienced stagnation during the 1911-1921 period with an increase of population of 7.9%, although it regained a faster growth rate in the next ten years. The slowing down of the growth rates was connected to decline or stagnation of the mining activities in its vicinity without the compensating large scale rubber planting, like Telok Anson or the concentration of administrative functions such as Ipoh.

In spite of its slow pace of growth, Taiping was still a formidable centre--second in size in the state. The population rose from 19,556 in 1911 to 21,111 in 1921 and to 30,070 ten years later.[1] Descriptions of the town in the twenties recorded that there were more than a thousand shops dealing in foodstuff, drinks, clothings, imported goods, metal wares and mining machinery. The largest concerns were,however, engaged in tin products and followed by rubber dealers. The majority of the inhabitants, mainly Chinese, were employed in the commercial and industrial sectors, and there was a division of functions along the Chinese ethnic lines.

The town was also noted for its beauty and peaceful atmosphere, the boulevard roads and streets gave the visitors to the town, the impression of something of a heavenly garden, unique in the peninsula; the magnificent

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(1) Vlieland, C.A. (1931), op.cit. p.46.

buildings and the orderly arrangement of roads and streets excelled those of the more prosperous Penang. The presence of the millionares of the bank and both the Chinese and English schools[1] indicate the degree of the commercial and social advancement the town had reached.

Physical extension and improvement of the town continued though at a slower pace. The suburban settlement in which the town led in the early years of the first decade had slackened and more lots were available. But within the townships, physical development seemed to have intensified and reached a saturated point.[2]

With all the physical development and the advantageous position it held as the state capital the town had given way to Ipoh in terms of size, importance and prosperity. The decline of the town and the ascendence of others was apparent by the thirties.

> '...it has a feeling of having been lived in for a long time. There is not the constant traffic of Kuala Lumpur, the briskness of Seremban, or the dignity of Ipoh. Taiping was a thriving and well-appointed town when Ipoh was still a Chinese village, when Seremban was in the same state, and when Kuala Lumpur was just beginning to take on some semblance of permanence and solidity'.3

Kamunting

Laid out as a new town at the same time as Taiping in 1874,

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(1) Kok Si-Chu (1924), 'A Survey of Taiping', Nanyang Siang Pao, 7th Oct. 1924, and Chen Pei-Liang (1928), Chinese Settlers in British Malaya, Penang. (both Texts in Chinese)
(2) Perak Annual Report, 1930, p.25.
(3) Ibid.

Kamunting was only three to four miles north of the latter. It shared the same fate during the Larut war as Taiping, and was treated almost on the same footing when Captain Speedy took charge in Larut, except that Taiping was made his headquarter. Kamunting had then a population of 4,000, seven flourishing mining Kangsis (or companies),[1] 300 shops and a tenth of the inhabitants were shopkeepers.[2] It had, for many years, like Taiping, one of the richest tin mining in the state.

By the early 1890s, Kamunting, though still occupied the second place in size in Larut district, linked with Taiping by road and by rail from 1890s, had declined further in importance. The population had dropped to a mere 2,608 when 1891 census was taken.[3] The decline was more profound towards the end of the eighties. It became 'a forlorn town, mainly built of atap, with roads and ditches needing much improvement...'[4] when Taiping was reborned with new vigour after the fire and cast a long shadow over Kamunting. From the beginning of this century, Kamunting paled completely into insignificance.

The development of Kamunting was an anti-climax to that of Taiping. It shows the impotence of a settlement thriving on a short-lived mining field without commercial and administrative support. It also shows,

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(1) Cowan, C.D. (1951), 'Sir Frank Swettenham's Perak Journals, 1874-1876', JMBRAS, Vol. 24, part IV, p.75.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), cited in Gullick, J.M. (1953)[b], op.cit., p.54.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.
(4) Bird, I.L. (1883), op.cit. pp.290-1.

though in a rather imperfect manner, the constraints implicit in the central place theory, under which Kamunting suffered. Kamunting's development was, in short, 'chocked' by its nearby rival Taiping.

Matang And Port Weld

Matang, on the Larut river, was one of the traditional Kuala sites and until the opening of railway to Port Weld, the chief port[1] of Perak. Located less than seven miles away from Taiping by cart-road, Matang was formerly the seat of the Tunku Mentri of Larut built probably as a fort in 1857, and later used as a barrack during 'Perak expedition' in 1876 after the Murder of Birch.[2] Before the cart-road came into use, Matang did not show signs of rapidly increasing prosperity. Many houses were in ruins or decaying state and few or no new ones were in course of construction.[3]

It was made the headquarters of the district of the same name following the British rule. As the terminus of the Taiping--Matang road, and the river port, Matang was much frequented by junks and other sailing craft, and was the centre of import trade of Larut and Kuala Kangsar. Although challenged by Port Weld after the building of the

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(1) Keaughran, T.J. (1887), The Singapore Directory for the Straits, Settlements and the Native States, Singapore, p.206. The anchorage of Matang, Telok Kertang, was about a mile away.
(2) Harrison, C.W. (1923), Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States, London, p.53.
(3) Sadka, E. (1954), (ed.), 'The Journal of Sir Hugh Low, Perak 1877', JMBRAS, Vol. 27, part IV, p.33.

railway from Taiping, Matang still maintained its position, as there was no cart-road between Taiping and Port Weld, and the traders found it cheaper to use Matang as a centre to trade with Taiping, Kuala Kangsar and Kinta.[1]

The Matang had a population of 1,289 in 1891 making it the third largest town in Larut, surpassed only by Taiping and Kamunting. Significantly, Port Weld was lagging far behind. In spite of its old status as the seat of the Malay chief, two third of Matang's population were Chinese and only one third Malays.[2] Sometimes referred to as a village, Matang could boast of functions distinctively urban in character, such as rest-houses, and offices of Land and Post and telegraph, apart from schools and police station.[3]

Port Weld's development and stagnation represent an interesting contrast. Port Weld came into existence in 1885 following the construction of the first railway in the country. Its rise and fall summarise the tale of a colonial port created for the mining industry. In the process of its growth it competed with the traditional kuala site nearby and was overtaken by other colonial ports better situated and more efficiently served with communication facilities. The surrounding areas and the native inhabitants were largely 'by-passed' by the foreign venture. Wayte

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.27.
(2) Taiping, Perak Handbook, pp.195-6.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, p.722.

sums it up by saying:

> 'We can, in fact, refer its rise and fall to changing spatial relationships consequent on the development of Malayan railway system. It provides an interesting example of an artificial port brought into existence to meet certain specific economic demands (like most of the ports of western Malaya) with its inevitable decline when its natural advantages proved insufficient for the developing economy.'1

Port Weld was created to provide an outlet for the tin of the then richest mines of the country--Taiping and Kamunting. Hence the railway and very considerable sums were spent in 'building good wharves, bunding out the sea, making roads, and laying out pure water',[2] and for a few years (1885-1892), it was one of the leading ports of Malaya, out-ranked only by Malacca and Georgetown, and for fifteen months the only one with a railway terminus.[3] But as a settlement it was 'an absolute failure', for it was

> 'simply a place of transit, a station at which to walk from ship to train or vice versa, and everything that has to be done there can be done perfectly without the presence of the people who find it pleasanter and more profitable to live in Taiping or elsewhere and, therefore, it could attract only the government employee's and half a dozen shopkeepers to supply their wants and those of a neighbouring fishing village.4

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(1) Wayte, M.E. (1959), 'Port Weld', JMBRAS, Vol. 32, part I, p.157.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.28.
(3) Whyte, M.E. (1959), op.cit. p.157.
(4) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.28.

The population at the peak of its heyday was as small as 266, with 96 Malays, 82 Chinese and 55 Indians.[1] The failure of Port Weld to develop into a major port was made more conspicuous by the fact that apart from being the spot where 'wheel meets keel', and close to Penang,[2] it was the location existed as Kuala Kapetang, and used considerably in the pre-railway days for the conveyance of provisions to the Kintan and Kuala Kangsar districts.[3] An early port of the area (Kuala) Larut with daily services to Penang, was put out of existence apparently as a result of Port Weld's initial ascendency.

The making and unmaking of Port Weld could be attributed to two factors: tin and the railway. The creation and the short-lived flourishing of Port Weld were due entirely to these factors. Following the decline of tin production in Larut in the nineties and the increase of output in the Kinta valley during the same period, the decline of Port Weld began. Blow after blow occurred when Telok Anson was linked to Tapah Road by railway in 1893 and later to Ipoh. When at the turn of the century Kinta valley became the principal tin-producing district in the state and the railway connection between Taiping and Prai on the mainland opposite Penang, was completed, Telok Anson took its place to become the chief port of Perak[4] and Port Weld began to 'lapse into

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.27.
(3) Singam, S.D.R. (1957), (Third Edition), Malayan Place Names, Singapore, pp.213-4.
(4) Wayte, M.E. (1959), op.cit. p.163.

little more than a fishing village and fire-wood centre'.[1]

From 1910s onwards Port Weld ceased to rank as a tin-exporting port.[2] Although there was an increase of population during the thirties, due early to the increased export of rubber and later charcoal and firewood industry, Port Weld had not been able to revive its port function ever since the decline of tin production in Larut and the longitudinal development of the railway system. Matang had by then lost its old time prosperity and was sustained only by the fishing industry. The general decline of towns around Taiping contrasted strikingly with those flourishing centres around Ipoh.

Telok Anson

Telok Anson was once being described as an important and prosperous town 'grown out of the jungle'.[3] Known as Durian Sabatang, it was one of settlement jerked into life by development following the British rule. Although it did not'rise to the dignity of busy commercial emporium',[4] Telok Anson succeeded in developing itself first into a colonial port, and later a major urban centre.

In the middle of seventies, it was a considerable Malaya village serving as a depot for trade with mines up the river, the business done

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(1) Allen, D.F. (1953), Report on the Minor Ports of Malaya, Singapore, p.9.
(2) Wayte, M.W. (1959), op.cit. p.164
(3) Ibid. p.29.
(4) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. p.155.

there was considerable.[1] But until it was chosen as the site for the port of Lower Perak well after Port Weld, the place was still a swampy forest.[2] If physical development seemed slow, (it had only one road half a mile long, and was said to have the reputation of being a 'white man's grave'[3]), the demographic change was drastic. It was described as a wretched Chinese village, no longer a Malay settlement.

Telok Anson was one of the few townships in Perak which did not owe its existence to mining, though mining in the interior contributed to its growth. This fact explains why Telok Anson thrived on the mining boom but survived the boom after it had faded off and the traffic diverted.

Created as a colonial port it grew to be a central place. Situated forty miles from the mouth of the Perak river, all the land in the neighbourhood was suitable for the cultivation of every form of low-country tropical produce, especially rice, sugar and coconuts. The banks of the river above and below it were fringed by Malay villages and padi fields. Telok Anson, therefore, existed as a market for the Lower Perak District where produce was sold and the necessaries and luxuries purchased.[4] 'As such', commented Swettenham, Telok Anson

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(1) Knaggs, W. (1875), 'A Visit to Perak', The Journal of Eastern Asia, Vol. 1, No.1, p.27.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.42.
(3) See Innes, E. (1885), The Chersonese with the Gilding off, London, pp.55-64.
(4) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.

'occupies a very different position from a port without trade of its own'.[1]

Moreover, located at the confluence of three rivers, including the main river in the state, Telok Anson had as its hinterlands traditionally the most densely settled areas of the Perak, particularly before the development by railway with Tapah Road in the early nineties, and through which with other tin mining centres in Kinta valley, Telok Anson enhanced further its position in the state and with administrative role added to it, there was no rival in sight in the Lower Perak district.

It soon challenged the suprimacy of Port Weld, as the port of Perak. It quickly became the post and administrative centre of Lower Perak[2] and out-ranked Port Weld as an urban centre in terms of population size.

In 1891, it had 3,373 inhabitants (against Port Weld's 266), over 1,300 of them Chinese, about the same number of Malays and 600 Indians.[3] By 1893 the total had increased to 6,000.[4] Though until the middle of the nineties, the trade of Perak with the outside world was carried on through these two ports, the trends of Telok Anson's rapid development and Port Weld's gradual decline had been clear from the beginning of the

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.42.
(2) Sadka, E. (1954), 'The Journal of Sir Huge Low', Perak, 1877, JMBRAS, Vol. 127, part IV, p.103.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.
(4) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.42.

nineties.

Telok Anson however, soon bore the blunt of the effect of anticipated national railway system, which, once completed, placed it outside the main line of development and redirected the original traffic of the Kinta mining towns to Prai and Penang. Thus, towards the end of the last century, although the longitudinal linking up was still some years away, and the trade was still on the increase, the town had showed sign of stagnation.

Revenue of the Sanitary Board was high and some very good works done[1] but little was spend on roads and public works. Boat traffic was running off and seventy houses, fifty of them shop-houses, were reported empty in the town. Some of its functions were taken away--the railway workshops were removed and the Lower Perak prison closed down. There was outcry that 'things cannot...improve till the government is in a position to develop the agricultural possibility of the surrounding country'.[2]

When the railway linking Prai and Malacca was actually completed the blow had already well 'cushioned' by the scaling down of its development and the stepping up of the alternative trades. The Administration Report of 1905 observes that Telok Anson was expected to suffer through the opening of the railway to Prai, but 'there is no outward indication

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1898, Vol. 11, p.212.
(2) Ibid, p.213.

that it is so. There are few unoccupied houses and several new shops have been built'.[1] Trade with Selengor and copra export to Penang were on the increase as a result of extensive cultivation of coconut.

Batu Gajah And Gopeng

Batu Gajah occupied a small table-land on the right rank of the Kinta river to which is joined by its tributary Raia. It was one of the collection points established by the introduction of bullock carts for the shipment of tin-ore. There were mines all round Batu Gajah but none of them very close.[2] It sprang into townhood to serve the expanding mines by virtue of its situation at the confluence of the two rivers.[3] At the time when land communication by road and railway was yet to develop, it was the ideal location for the official headquarters of the district . In spite of its mining origin, it was the administrative functions which put Batu Gajah on an equal footing with other centres in the district in the nineties. The colonial political role was evident. The chief public offices included district courts, treasury, district land office, Chinese protectorate and survey offices. Its administrative character was also evident in the presence of barracks, post office, prison, hospital, church and government rest-house, dwelling houses for

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(1) Perak Annual Report, 1904, p.4.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.40.
(3) Tin Industry Board, (?), What Tin Mining means to Malaya, p.8.

various officers, recreation club, cricket and tennis grounds and race course.[1]

Batu Gajah was connected with all the colonial stations by telegraph in the state and with important centres by telephone. The population in 1891 was 2,135, with more Malays than Chinese (963 against 739)[2], a fact associated with the relative importance of non-mining activities. This was the situation before the Kinta Valley railway was constructed, long before it paled into 'a pretty little residential village'.[3]

Gopeng was said to be the first mining spot in Kinta, a centre of a group of mining fields. Lying only twelve miles away from Ipoh, it was the headquarters of the division of the same name and ranked as one of the important towns in the district. It had in 1891 a larger population (2,870) than Batu Gajah,[4] predominently Chinese, indicating a strong mining character. However, as the administrative centre of the division, Gopeng also boasted of magistrate court, post office and rest-house and other urban functions such as hospital and theatre.[5] With most of the 400 houses built with brick and wooden materials, it marked itself out from the villages of atap huts characteristic of the traditional kampongs and the temporary mining camps. From 1900s, Gopeng

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(1) See Perak Handbook and Civil Service List, 1893, Taiping, p.201 and Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.40.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, p.722.
(3) Harrison, C.W. (1923), op.cit. p.74.
(4) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, p.722.
(5) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.202.

grew considerably nothwithstanding its being twice burnt down.

Tapah

Tapah was the only town of considerable size in Batang Padang district. It was the headquarters of the district and had a population of 2,000. As there were no mines in the immediate vicinity the twon was 'more a Government Station than anything else'.[1] It had stagnated, indeed declined since 1889.[2]

Tapah's situation was typical of that of the other centres in the district. There were high hopes of rich mines and rapid development before 1889, but the mines proved to be less spectacular than expected. Although there were plenty of good lands, agricultural enterprise was slow in coming, probably it looked less attractive, by comparison with the rapid and spectacular development of the mining industry next door in the Kinta district.

In the early nineties, mining centres at Chanderiang and Bidor had sunk into insignificance while other centre like Tapah Road which was created by the railway, had yet to come on the urban scene. The district was awaiting the development of roads and railway to bring in new impetus for further development.

When it was connected with railway at Tapah Road, and served by

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.204.

good roads radiating from it in several directions, Tapah was able to discard further what was left of its tumble-down huts image, adding to itself club, criket-ground, rest-house, hospital, more government offices and broad shady streets.[1]

Kampar

The most outstanding among the lately established but fast growing towns at the turn of the century in Perak was Kampar, previously known as Membang-di-Awan. It was not even listed as one of 'the principal towns and villages' in the 1891 Perak Government Gazette.[2] The Perak Handbook (complied in 1893, based presumably on data collected earlier) mentioned it only in passing, giving a population of 600.[3] In 1893 it was a village with 172 houses and a population of 1,200 and had every appearance of prosperity. There were mines all round and the population numbered 1,500.[4] A year later Kampar was the town which had made most progress next to Ipoh. The inhabitants had rocketed to about 4,000. The way it grew and the efforts made by the Chinese immigrants were indicative of development of the mining towns in the country:

> 'It has grown so rapidly that it has been impossible to do much for its sanitation or improvement, but at the end of the year the Chinese subscribed $10,000 to be

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(1) Cycling in Malaya (1899), p.32 and Rathborne, A.B. (1898), op.cit. p.184.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.
(3) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.202.
(4) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p. 154.

> spent in laying it out, on condition that they were granted 200 town lots to build on. A good survey of the town has already been made, levels have been taken and another year will see rows of streets and houses on the land adjoining the present buildings, and which is now only a series of mine-holes and spoil-banks'.1

Although Kampar was the victim of a fire in that year, the damage done was marginal, only a block of ten atap houses was burnt. From the ashes rose the brick houses and roads which made the provision for the conservation, sanitation and physical improvement easier. Kampar grew from it to be a pretty modern centre in later years. The 'support' of the town was undoubtedly mining. It was then believed that the area would develop into one of the richest fields in Kinta,[2] and Kampar would grow into a big town and had a bright future. The shops in the town in 1905 numbered about 300.[3] A large mining scheme was under way which could secure further prosperity for the town. Because of the mining expansion it was recommended to establish a Malay settlement so that they would not be further pushed out of the lands they had long occupied.

The optimistic prediction during the first decade did not materialize. During 1910s the town hardly grew in terms of population (an increase of 6.2%[4]) and number of shops (which remained largely unchanged till the

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1894, p.155.
(2) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.41.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1905, p.11.
(4) Nathan, J.E. (1922), Census of British Malaya, 1921, London, p.39.

thirties, according to the Chinese sources[1]). The low percentage of increase, was due to the closing down of mines on account of low price of tin and the extensive introduction of labour saving machinery.[2] Although the population increased substantially between the intercensal years of 1921 and 1931 (amounting to 24.2%), its rate was among the lowest among the major towns with population exceeding 10,000.[3] Some descriptions of the town in the late twenties still gave an impression of the frontier mining town,[4] reminiscent of those of Taiping and Ipoh in the early days.

Ipoh

Ipoh was without doubt 'a wonderful instance of the rapid growth of a mining town'.[5] The date of the original settlement may not be known (a place called 'Epu' was taken as the first reference made by McNair in 1870s in connection with the modern town of Ipoh) but it is certain that the settlement was insignificant till the seventies. Indeed, it was still a place with 'a small collection of huts'[6] in 1888.

It was referred to as a village whose importance was created by mining between 1874 and 1883.[7] In 1889s it had a population of 2,000

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(1) Liu Huang Jan (1935), British Malaya Sketch, (Text in Chinese)
(2) Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. p.39.
(3) Vlieland, C.A. (1932), op.cit. p.46.
(4) Chen Pei-Lian (1928), op.cit. p.23.
(5) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.39.
(6) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.39.
(7) Singam, S.D.R. (1952), op.cit. p.119. A French engineer, M.J. Morgan, was however, quoted to described Ipoh as a 'village malaise on Sakaye' in 1866. See What Tin Mining means to Malaya, p.10.

(Chinese). The growth of the town was rapid: 'many brick houses have been built, while in January 1888 not one existed'.[1] One Chinese source reported that a Chinese shop, formed with three shares of $50 each, had had a turn-over of $10,000 within three years, and more shops had proliferated from the parent shop, all making handsome profits. Later a market emerged along the river bank.[2]

By 1891 it had grown to become the largest town in Kinta district with a population exceeding 3,000.[3] With a great part of the town burnt down in 1892 it was rebuilt of brick houses, and the population nearly doubled a year later. The shops now numbered 1,000. Although Taiping had twice as much a population and blessed with the status of a capital, Ipoh's importance, as the centre of a rich mining district, the focus of roads and terminus of the forthcoming Kinta Valley railway, was second to none[4] and undoubtedly a most flourishing town[5] in the state.

Batu Gajah gained importance by the confluence of rivers and Ipoh did so by the convergence of roads. Land transport later proved to be more effective that waterways and the development of which helped Ipoh to outgrow Batu Gajah and other centres in a few years. Even before the railway came to Ipoh, the rich tin mines and the anticipation of the

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1889, p.205.
(2) Liu Huang Jan (1935), British Malaya Sketch, p.96. (Text in Chinese)

(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1891, Vol. IV, p.722.
(4) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.39.
(5) Taiping (1893), op.cit. p.202.

construction of the railway and the prosperity which were to come with it had attracted an influx of immigrants of a scale hitherto unknown. Between 1879 and 1891 alone the increase of population in Kinta district amounted to 560.3% (from 8,860 to 49,654),[1] Ipoh and the neighbouring areas fared well in the intake. In the next few years it was Ipoh which alone took the lion share, and came to the fore to dominate the entire district. The growth of the town could be 'seen' from year to year.

The Sanitary Board (established in 1892) reported in 1893 that:

> '...the village of Ipoh had grown from that into a town of no mean proportion - 396 houses, a population of over 4,000. At the census in 1891 it was given as 3,184, both houses and population are daily increasing. The houses in course of construction are of a far better class than any in the state. The township required immediate attention as regards sanitation, market extension and fire regulations. The last two has been attended to. People seen flocking to it, the river was crowded with heavily laden store boats, the place was full of animation. It will be, and indeed now is, the most important township in the district, and no doubt in the state in the near future, when a railway connects it with Larut...'2

Another report noted that Ipoh had increased in size about fivefold in the last two years and made more rapid progress than probably any town in the peninsula. It estimated the inhabitants in the town to be 5,000.[3] A third report observed that owing to the great increase in the

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1891.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, March 3, 1893, p.152.
(3) Ibid. p.156.

value of kampong land in the neighbourhood of Ipoh it was proposed to raise the rent from agricultural to suburban rates. It was arranged to have all the lands within a mile radius of the town property demarcated and surveyed for that purpose.[1]

The effect of Ipoh did not end in the immediate surroundings. There were towns, villages and orchards over almost the whole of the twelve miles between Ipoh and Batu Gajah, which daily saw between them 'a continuous stream of vehicles and pedestrians'. Menglembu was one of the places located between Ipoh and Batu Gajah. In 1893 it was a considerable village with brick shops and well-built and spacious theatre, but there was not a house eighteen months ago.[2]

The annual report of 1894 recorded that:

> 'Ipoh nearly doubled its population in 1893, and has now about 11,000 inhabitants. In this town also more than half of the atap houses have been pulled down and replaced by substantial brick buildings, of which there are now 136 finished, while 25 more are in the course of construction... The street alignments have been altered and improved, brick drains laid and where the width of streets allows it, trees have been planted, and Ipoh is now the second largest town in the state of Perak, and promises before long to be the largest...'[3]

In 1895 Ipoh was linked up by railway with the then rising port of Telok Anson, via Tapah Road, and was fast on its way to become the primate

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(1) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p.301.
(2) Perak Government Gazette, 1893, p.156.
(3) Perak Government Gazette, 1894, p.155.

town in the state. A major readjustment of urban centres in Perak--a 'sorting out' process centered around Ipoh was under way.

Traveller noted at the end of the century that it was the largest town in Perak, with shops of all sorts, including dentists and photographers.[1] At the same time the municipal limits of the town extended considerably, and several villages were placed under the jurisdiction of its Sanitary Board.

By the middle of the first decade of this century, the tempo of development was further increased. It was the most flourishing centre, and the chief commercial town in Perak, and more significantly it was growing apace. Building operations were constantly being under-taken[2] and building was going up everywhere, reminiscent of an American mining town in its fast growing days.[3]

Confidence in the future of the town was showned both by the government and the public. The government viewed the extraordinary growth of the town with favour and huge sums of money were being spent on public works.[4] The public works carried out included land and reclamation, the construction of roads and bridges, the installation of street lamp, and the building of school, the opening of recreation club and park and a government house promising to be one of the finest

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(1) Cycling in Malaya (1899), Singapore, p.30.
(2) Perak Administration Report, 1904, p.3.
(3) McKelvey, B. (1969), The City in American History, London.
(4) Perak Administration Report, 1905, p.6.

and commodious edifice in the Federated Malay States. Government efforts were matched by the private citizens, who were determined to make Ipoh 'a town which will excite the admiration of visitors',[1] their endeavours resulted in the publication of a newspaper, and the construction of many imposing buildings such as the Chinese theatre, the mosque etc. Forty new houses were built in the year 1905 and great efforts were being made to 'mould the town upon the best lines of sanitation and adornment'.[2]

The next year saw a plan to build no fewer than ninety-five first-class[3] shop-houses in the town which already had 697 of them. And the erection of the new buildings was accompanied by the pulling down of the insanitary dwellings. By the end of 1907, an iron bridge over Kinta river was completed. A new one over Prai was unconstruction, so was a railway to Tronoh, which promised to enhence town property at Ipoh. In addition, the most up-to-date abattoir in Malaya and a spendid new market, the envy of other places in the F.M.S. were ready.[4]

The trend of change was also clear in the improvement of the transport modes. The year 1911 saw the decrease of gharries (hackney carriages) and bullock-carts as a result of the use of automobiles and

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(1) Perak Administration Report, 1906, p.6.
(2) Perak Administration Report, 1905, p.11.
(3) Perak Administration Report, 1906, p.15.
(4) Ibid. p.6.

the motor omnibus. There were twenty plying for hire in Kinta and Batang Padang District.[1]

Ipoh was not only the largest town in the state from the turn of the century but maintained one of the highest growth rates in the state. Before the First World War, Ipoh grew in the wake of the colossal development in the country although it was not the centre of the rubber producing area. When the war broke out it was feared that the land market of the town might collapse. The reverse was true.

With the price of tin falling as a result of the war, the commerce of the town was affected, but public works such as hospital, town hall and post office were carried out without interruption.[2]

The population of the town rose from 27,978 in 1911 and to 36,860 in 1921, and increase of 53.7%, and was only next to Kuala Lumpur in size in the F.M.S. The town also flourished in the twenties, the population had increased to 53,183 and 1931, maintaining a rate of 44.3% over the ten-year period.[3]

Town Planning Department had replaced the Sanitary Board in Perak to take charge of the municipal area. And the bulk of the work done in the state by the Town Planning Department in 1925 was related to Ipoh. Survey plans were advanced to new building proposals with future town planning.

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(1) Perak Administration Report, 1912, p.33.
(2) Perak Administration Report, 1914, p.8.
(3) Vlieland, C.A. (1932), 1931 Census, p.46.

The growth of the town before the effect of the great depression set in could be seen through the rise of the land value within the township. Land values increased more rapidly and continuously from 1926 to 1929. The increase was so rapid that it was necessary to revise the valuation of the town lots and the agricultural lots within short period. The rise of the value of agricultural lots was partly due to the conversion of large number of agricultural or country lots[1] into shop lots. The general rise of land values reflected the increased demand of urban land and speculative land buying,[2] as a result of the commencement of the transfer of the state headquarters from Taiping to Ipoh in 1927.

The 'land boom' in Ipoh reached its peak in 1928-9, then the fall in price of tin and low price of rubber began to tell its tolls. But the wealth accumulated during the prosperous years had made possible the expansion of the town. It was reported in 1928 that the town had expanded more since 1921 than it did in previous decade and the population had increased 'out of proportion' during the intercensal period.[3]

With its unrivaled prosperity, population, and magnificent buildings, roads, and streets, Ipoh had long been the state capital de facto, if not de jure.[4] In the beginning of thirties, in spite of the general trade

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(1) 'Town lots' denote shop lots and lots used for industrial purposes, and 'country lots', the remainder, mainly for residential purposes. See Perak Administration Report, 1929, p.19.
(2) Perak Administration Report, 1927, p.18.
(3) Perak Administration Report, 1928, p.9.
(4) Chen Pei Lian (1928), op.cit. p.23.

depression, building and land development and town planning 'is still surprisingly active', several government layout schemes such as Malay settlement, Tamil settlement, public gardens, state capital buildings, were being prepared.[1]

The shadow of the depression, however, loomed larger and larger in the next few years. Activities in land development showed a very marked decrease. The closure of the Town Planning Office at Ipoh in 1933 as 'a measure of economy' with the work of town planning in the state transferred to the Kuala Lumpur office,[2] reemphasised what had been the trend for the past two decades or so: that the main area of urban development in the country had shifted from Perak to Selangor.

Within the state boundary, however, Ipoh picked up momentum and forged ahead of other towns and at their expense as well. Nearby towns of considerable size such as Batu Gajah suffered as a result of the concentration of governmental departments and transport facilities at Ipoh. However, the growth of Ipoh had a favourable effect on the smaller centres in the area. From Ipoh to Tronoh along a fifteen-mile railway, there were seven centres of various sizes, most of them comparatively prosperous.[3] The prosperity was due mainly to the mining activities in their vicinity, but partly to the 'patronage' of the flourishing Ipoh. The dual effects of the central place forces were apparently at work.

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(1) Perak Administration Report, 1930, p.24-5.
(2) Perak Administration Report, 1933, p.10.
(3) See Liu Huang Jan (1935), op.cit. p.46

Kuala Kangsar

Of all the important centres in Perak, Kuala Kangsar retained most of the characteristics of the traditional Malay settlements. It represented a rare exception of a Malay kampong transforming itself into a modern urban centre. Telok Anson was recreated on the site of, and not evolved from, Durian Sabatang. Kuala Sapatang was replaced by Port Weld near the original location. Kuala Kangsar on the other hand was already well-developed as a settlement when the urban development in the state got under way. Situated outside the major mining districts and away from the coast, it temporarily escaped the full force of the 'tin rush' which brought in the teeming immigrant miners. Being the seat of the traditional political power and a centre commanding the traditional trading highway--the Perak river,with its riverine population, Kuala Kangsar was able to withstand the 'chocking' influence of the newly emerging mining centres which flanked it on both sides.

Kuala Kangsar was mentioned as early as 1783 by Captain Forest as a place through which tin was marketed to Penang.[1] Practically nothing else was known about the place. From Newbold's description, the place then called 'Kwala Kongsow', was a village of eighty houses.[2] Giving an average of five persons to a house, it was a considerable settlement.

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(1) Winstedt, R.O. and Wilkinson, R.J. (1934), op.cit. p.60.
(2) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.186.

Low observed in the middle of last century that there was a population of 500 at Kuala Kangsar at quite time and a good deal of petty traffic was carried on there.[1]

Kuala Kangsar became prominent in the seventies as the military station, the seat of Sultan of Perak and the first state capital. It was constantly referred to in the correspondence relating to the affairs of the native states, in Major McNair's book and the writings of other British officers.[2] Most of the references, however, were concerned with the military activities following the murder of Mr.Birch in which Kuala Kangsar was described as a hostile village, the actual conditions of the village were rarely touched upon.[3]

Prior to the British rule in the wake of the disintegration of the traditional political system, Kuala Kangsar and the surrounding villages were the heart of the up-river (ulu) chiefs, while Bandar and Durian Sabatang represented the main centres of down-river (hilir) groups. Both groups dispute over the right to collect taxes on tin exported from the mines of Larut. Later events which led to the British intervention, overtook them and the struggle for supremacy did not complete.

The development of mining industry first in Larut and later in Kinta districts took place on both sides of Kuala Kangsar. The centre

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(1) Low, J. (1850), op.cit. p.502.
(2) See Further Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula, C.1505 of 1878; McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. and Swettenham, F.A. (1906), op.cit.
(3) McNair, F. (1878), op.cit. p.156, p.421 and drawing facing p.169.

of activities shifted away from the traditional settlements along the Perak river. Unlike others, Kuala Kangsar was not left out in the development. Ten years after British control (1884-1885) Swettenham recalled that:

> '...it is now a well built town progress quite as far as did Taiping and the development which is now taking place of the tin districts of the neighbourhood will ensure the continuance of its prosperity'.1

The settings, however, had not changed. It was still the beautiful, silent Kuala Kangsar, with beautiful scenery and vegetation in the neighbourhood and the quiet Malay life like a series of pictures[2] although inevitable invasion of the immigrants and their economic activities were in evidence. The trade of Kuala Kangsar seemed to be in the hands of the Chinese with a few Indians among them. The Chinese had already established a row of shops[3] in the 1880s.

Although the demographic balance had tilted in favour of the Chinese[4], the appearance of the settlement remained unchanged. The seat of the Sultan, with no mines around, Kuala Kangsar was 'the very paradise of Malays'. The 'Malayness' of the place was enhanced by the surrounding area. There were for miles along the banks numerous picturesque villages hidden under a wealth of palms and fruit trees,

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1942), Footprints in Malaya, London, p.99.
(2) Bird, I.L. (1883), op.cit. p.348.
(3) Ibid. p.320.
(4) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.38.

with rice fields behind them.[1] The establishment of the first Malay public school, which turned out the social and political elites in later years added a new dimension to its character.

As far as urban development is concerned, Kuala Kangsar could have been the model of the numerous agro-towns emerged from the traditional Malay kampongs in the country but for the mining industry and the colonial-immigrant complex.

Kuala Kangsar could not however escape for long the impact of the colonial-immigrant complex. The first road suitable for the transport of produce in the state was the one linking the Larut river and Kuala Kangsar, which was later extended to Kinta for the export of tin and supply of goods before the development of road and railway transport with the newly developed port of Telok Anson. The Perak river on the other hand provided the longitudinal waterway for trading with the traditional settlements. The large Chinese population in Kuala Kangsar were apparently attracted by the trading opportunity offered by its position.

With the railway linking the tin districts to Prai through the town, Kuala Kangsar was linked to the areas of economic activities, indeed it was predicted that 'the very central position of Kuala Kangsar will cause it soon to become a place of some commercial importance...'[2]

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1893), op.cit. p.38.
(2) D.W.S. (1900), European Settlements in the Far East, London, p.274.

Plan for providing reliable structure over the Perak river for wheeled traffic and foot passengers was under consideration in 1904. This was thought capable of giving an impetus to the town, as the 7,000 Malay population on the opposite side of the river would be brought within easy contact with Kuala Kangsar. The year 1906 saw apart from the great improvement of the town, the completion of magnificent government houses, the landmark of Kuala Kangsar--the handsome mosque, the opening of a new road connecting the railway station with the town. The high rentals of the shop-houses in the town reflected its growing prosperity at the time. The location here of the Malay college consolidated its status as the cradle of the Malay elites which the town enjoys till this day.

The state of Perak since 1874 witnessed forces of the colonial-immigrant complex at work in shaping its urban development through different phases. The first twenty years of the British rule saw the springing up of a series of urban settlements, the rapid growth of some individual centres and the vast improvement of the transport networks. The next ten to fifteen years was a period of 'settling down' characterised by physical improvement of individual towns and locational and spatial readjustment among the various centres initiated by the development of transport networks within and outside the state boundaries. The sudden mushrooming of towns as a result of mining boom had come to an end and the

'support' of the urban centres began to diversify with rubber becoming increasingly important. From 1911 urban centres in the state experienced a highly uneven development. In strong contrast to the decreasing rates of growth in the older mining towns some of the younger centres (such as Tanjong Malim and Tanjong Rambutan) recorded population increase of over 100%.

The forces of the colonial-immigrant complex in stimulating (or at times hampering) the urban development in the state were reflected in the vicissitudes of the individual centres (which were singled out to illustrate the various facets of the forces). Apart from the springing up and the mushrooming of towns the constant shift of centre of importance was a remarkable feature of urban development in Perak. The replacement of Port Weld by Telok Anson as the chief port and the Taiping by Ipoh as the main commercial and later political centre of the state were examples of the shift. In both cases, the fluctuation of the mining industry and the development of the transport networks were instrumental to the locational shuffling and spatial reorientation.

Attention has been focussed mainly on development during the first four decades of the British rule. This was the period when Perak was in the lead in terms of urban development in the peninsula. Towards the end of this period, the centre of development had moved from Perak to the Selangor. Selangor soon overtook Perak in having the largest town on the mainland and the highest proportion of urban population in the F.M.S.

TABLE 7

Towns and Villages with Population of 2,000 and over in Perak

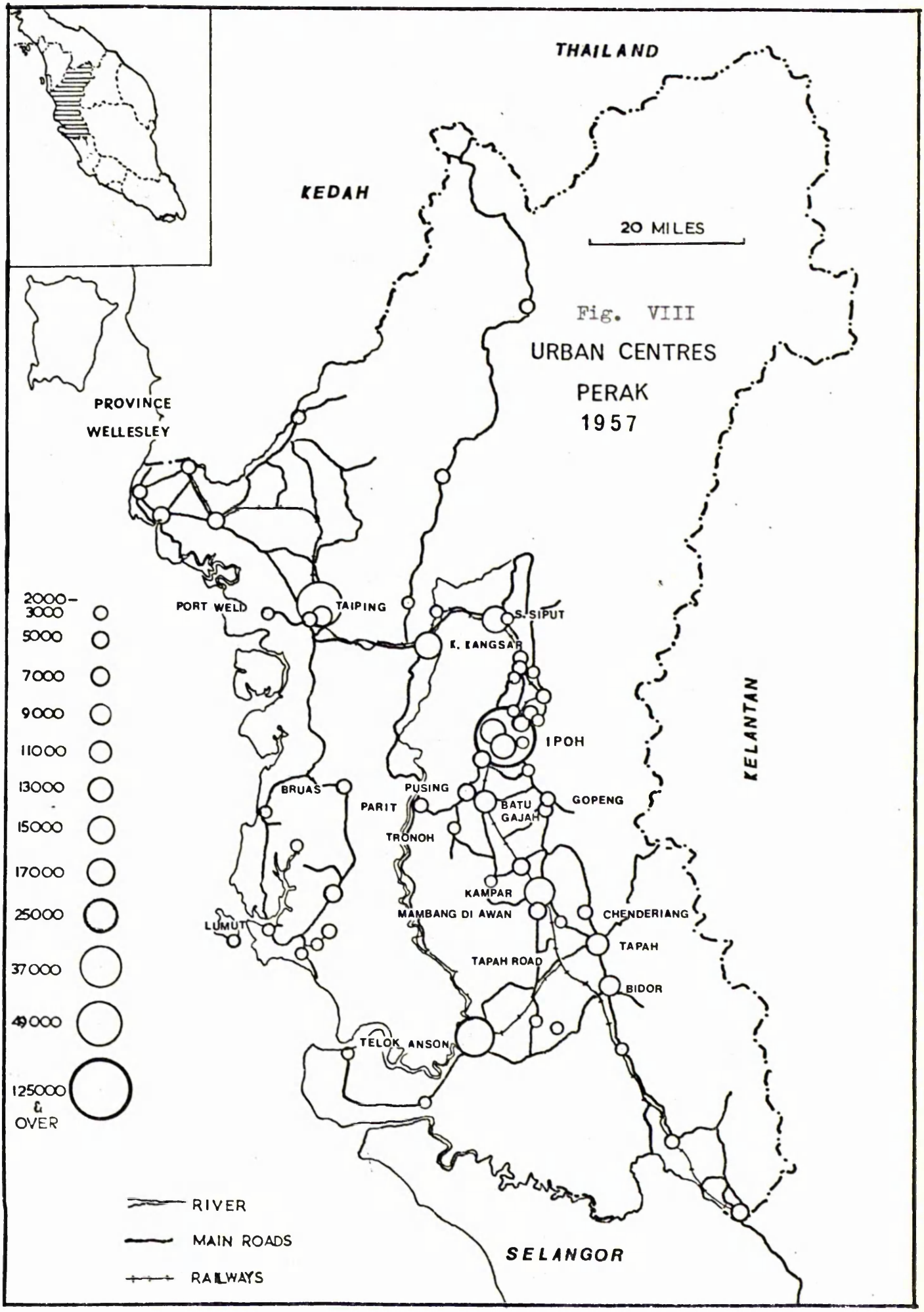
Town or Village	1957	1947	1931	1921	1911
Ipoh	125,770	80,894	53,183	36,860	23,978
Taiping	48,206	41,361	30,070	21,111	19,556
Telok Anson	37,042	23,055	14,671	10,859	6,927
Kampar	24,602	17,499	15,302	12,325	11,604
Sungei Siput	15,337	5,967	3,215	2,512	2,045
Kuala Kangsar	15,302	8,350	6,030	3,369	2,214
Guntong	15,093				
Pasir Pinji	13,945	4,256			
Batu Gajah	10,143	7,500	6,759	5,093	3,815
Tapah	9,600	4,900	3,975	2,930	2,326
Bidor Town	8,194	2,331	1,730	1,085	
Pokok Assam	8,022				
Tanjong Malim	7,003	3,527	3,163	2,113	
Pusing	6,963	2,501	3,012	2,118	
Mambang Di Awan	6,190				
Bukit Merah	6,083				
Kampong Simee	5,966				
Ayer Tawar	5,900				
Malim Nawar	5,714	2,408			
Bagan Serai	5,392	4,945	2,995	2,848	2,134
Kuala Kurau	5,282	2,815		1,645	1,590
Kampong Bercham	4,349				
Gopeng	4,324	3,717	3,423	3,624	4,957
Lenggong	4,074				
Parit Buntar	4,022	3,475	2,929	2,443	2,371
Pekan Gurney	3,829				
Lawan Kuda Bharu	3,873				
Slim River	3,738				
Chemor	3,707	2,741	2,206	2,528	1,410
Bruas	3,696	1,255			
Sungei Penang	3,517	2,487			
Parit	3,450	1,662			
Grik	3,395	1,212			
Selama	3,355	1,269			
Tanjong Piandang	3,231	2,749			
Simpang	3,113				

TABLE 7

Towns and Villages with Population of 2,000 and over in Perak(Cont.)

Town or Village	1,957	1947	1931	1921	1911
Chenderiang	3,690	1,103	2,628	2,593	3,061
Kanthan Bharu	3,156				
Tanjong Rambutan	3,019	5,453	2,429	2,689	1,040
Langkap	2,970				
Kampong Pinang	2,956				
Lumut	2,953	2,525			
Bukit Chendan	2,836				
Temoh	2,795	1,523	3,319	2,860	3,382
Chui Chak	2,663				
Pantai Remis	2,642				
Kampong Tawas	2,628				
Pangkok	2,580	2,079			
Simpang Pulai	2,485				
Simpang Jalong	2,469				
Tronoh	2,461	3,024	3,391	3,238	2,018
Kuala Kuang	2,401				
Sungkai	2,399				
Simpang Ampat	2,380	1,950	1,617		
Tanjong Tualang	2,370				
Ampang Bharu	2,342				
Bagan Datoh	2,260				
Slim Village	2,249				
Kampong China	2,267				
Kopisan	2,244				
Karai	2,293		1,536		
Changkat Keruing	2,236				
Port Weld	2,260	2,351	1,572		
Liman Kati	2,133				
Tanah Hitam	2,125				
Simpang Dua	2,078				
Bemban	2,068				
Menglembu		9,751	8,078	6,131	3,999
Kamunting		1,723	1,028	942	1,059
Lahat	1,535	1,438	2,053	2,997	1,416
Papan	1,964		1,153	1,285	2,389
Klian Intan		1,694	2,618		

Sources: Various Census Reports.


THAILAND
KEDAH
20 MILES
Fig. VIII
URBAN CENTRES
PERAK
1957
PROVINCE
WELLESLEY
2000-3000
5000
7000
9000
11000
13000
15000
17000
25000
37000
49000
125000 & OVER
PORT WELD
TAIPING
S. SIPUT
K. KANGSAR
IPOH
KELANTAN
BRUAS
PUSING
PARIT
BATU GAJAH
GOPENG
TRONOH
KAMPAR
MAMBANG DI AWAN
CHENDERIANG
TAPAH
TAPAH ROAD
BIDOR
LUMUT
TELOK ANSON
SELANGOR
RIVER
MAIN ROADS
RAILWAYS

The 'surface' development of Perak had since lost its momentum to the 'point' development of Selangor. Nevertheless, Perak remained, throughout the colonial period, one of the most 'urbanized' states in the country boasting of several important nodal points in the entire urban system. Its urban development during the early days represents the initial but significant stage of the evolution of the urban system in Malaya. And its 'surface' development persisted well into the late fifties as shown in Table 7 and Fig. VIII.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF A CAPITAL

The origin and the development of Kuala Lumpur is symbolic. It is more than a history of an obscure trading-mining post developing into a modern capital. The urban process of Kuala Lumpur typifies the characteristics of the growth of the interior urban centres and in many aspects, the evolution of the urban system in the country.

Embroiled in Kuala Lumpur's development is the interplay of a host of forces. First of these was the arrival on the scene of the immigrant miners, (prior to this, there was a long but insignificant development of the traditional settlements) small in number and ill-organised, tolerated, indeed welcomed by the indigenous administration. Then came the influx of the immigrants attracted by the rich profits from the mines, financed and organized from the colonial ports. Their conflicts led to the involvement and the breakdown of the indigenous administration, which in turn afforded the opportunity for the colonial power to intervene. This was followed by a brief period of contention between the immigrant and the colonial components for administrative control. The latter of course gained supremacy without much ado. Finally, an equilibrium within the context of the colonial order was reached. Under which, the colonial administration provided the political framework and the spatial infrastructure; the immigrant groups contributed in building the socio-economic base. The indigenous elements were

peripherally absorbed into the administrative paraphernalia but largely left outside the economic integration.

The spatio-temporal manifestation of the interplay of these forces could be traced through the development of kuala settlements and the sporadic mining up to the discovery of the tin mines at Ampang about 1857, the growth of Kuala Lumpur and the fierce conflict between itself and the declining Kanching, beyond the control of the Malay powers; and the intervention in 1874; the brief juxtaposition of Yap Ah Loy's rebuilt Kuala Lumpur and the British administrative headquarters at Klang, and the subsequent replacement of Klang by Kuala Lumpur as the state capital in 1800, (which signified British supremacy and an equilibrium between the colonial power and immigrant economic viability) its selection as the capital of the Federated Malay States in 1896 and the rapid development since (which confirmed the fruitful efforts of the colonial-immigrant complex.)

The forces of the colonial-immigrant complex that went into making the modern towns, indeed the entire urban system were at their strongest in creating the national capital on the mainland. The trends and the characteristics of the urban process centred around the capital city were typical. The traditional coastal settlement was replaced by the interior immigrant mining centre, which in turn was taken over by the colonial power and afforded administrative functions. The joint forces of the colonial-immigrant complex not only broadened the economic

and functional base of the centre, but linked it with other interior centres and the coastal port through the newly constructed transportation networks. The evolution of the urban system was thus set in rapid motion.

The urban centres and the urban system evolved since then up to independence in 1957 within the framework of the colonial economy, which was export-oriented and spatially integrative. Functioning as the political capital, Kuala Lumpur reaped the fruit accorded to it by the administrative paraphernalia which greatly helped its urban process. Occupying the central position within the tin belt, it also benefited from being the nodal point of the spatial integration facilitated by the modern transportation networks which strengthened its local primacy. However, located as it was (and is) in the interior with an inadequate outlet (Klang/Swettenham), Kuala Lumpur, notwithstanding its capital status and economic base, could not out-grow the colonial port of Singapore. The process of urban development regulated by the colonial economy, a salient feature in the evolution of the urban system in the country is thus embodied in the development of the capital city.

In addition, the growth of Kuala Lumpur illustrates 'variation' of the urban development: the growth of the crucial nodal point within the system, as against the 'surface' development with numerous centres in Perak. More visibly Kuala Lumpur, as a creation of the colonial-immigrant complex, symbolises the attributes common to most of the modern inland

centres in the country: they were cut off both in time and space from the traditional settlements. The inland capital of Kuala Lumpur was remote from the coastal Klang and it had no place in the historical setting, as could be seen later.

Historical Setting

Klang delta was probably the locale of a dependency of the Palembang-based Buddhist kingdom of Sri Vijaya, as early as in the thirteenth century. It was subject to the Java Kingdom of Majapahit in the middle of fourteenth century. However, the tract of land now known as Selangor had never been the centre of political power.

It was, In the fifteenth century, it consisted of separate river states. Two of these, Klang and Jeram, were subject to the Sultans of Malacca.[1] Tin was produced in Klang and Langat riverine, and a half-Chinese son of the Sultan of Malacca was appointed governor of Langat on account of the presence there of Chinese miners.[2] Under Dutch pressure, towards the end of the seventeenth century, Klang, Selangor valleys, Rembau, Tampin and Sungei Ujong, came under the Malay kingdom of Johor which soon fell into disruption. In the early part of the next century, the Bugis rulers of the Johor kingdom transferred the centre of their influence from Selangor to Riau.[3] Although

(1) Winstedt, R.O. (1934), 'A History of Selangor', JMBRAS, Vol. XII, Part 3, p.1.
(2) Ibid. p.2.
(3) Ibid. p.4.

a Sultan was later created, the Dutch were in real control.

Little was known as regards the social-economic situation during this period. Selangor, however, was said to be full of rice traders[1] and the bone of contention between the Dutch and the Bugis and indeed between the former and the British, was the monopoly of tin, for which the Dutch set up fortified forts at Kuala Selangor. For fear of trade rivalry from the newly found British port of Penang, the Dutch agreed to let a Riau Raja to settle at Muar from which commercial preference could be gained.[2]

Relations between Selangor and the Dutch came to an end when Malacca was occupied by the British in 1795. In 1818 a treaty of 'Commercial Alliance' was entered between the English East India Company and the Raja of Selangor whereby the Raja agreed not to grant monopolies to anyone and not to renew any obsolete and interrupted treaties with other nations.[3] After the ousting of the Siamese, in which Perak received help from Selangor, the two states signed a treaty in 1823. The treaty stipulated that 'Traders from Selangor will be allowed free trade in Perak, but no one, not even the relatives of the Sultan of Selangor, will be allowed to trade in tin'.[4] Tin trade was not only

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(1) Winstedt, R.O. (1932), 'Juhfat al-Nafis', JMBRAS, Vol. X.
(2) Winstedt, R.O. (1934), op.cit. p.9.
(3) Maxwell, G. and Gibson, W.S. (1924), Treaties and Engagements affecting the Malay States and Borneo, London.
(4) Ibid.

the main attraction for the foreign powers but also the item of commercial rivalry between the neighbouring states.

Selangor was much more thinly inhabited than Perak. The population was concentrated near the river mouths--and along the banks. The annual amount of tin exported from the Selangor and Klang rivers was estimated at 2,000 pikuls. Lumpor was famous for its output while Lukut had lately 'become a great place for tin' and of its 1,000 inhabitants 200 were Chinese miners under a Captain China appointed by the Sultan. Agricultural produce included rattans from Bernam, rice from Api-Api and Kapar, fruit from Bulu and coconut from Jeram.[1]

The settlements were located along the river. From north to south, the first settlement of importance was the 'small town at the distance of two days pull from the entrance' of the river Burmam, which had a population of about 1,000. 'The town' of Selangor (river) did not contain above 400 inhabitants. Klang (Colong)--'the first town' on the river of the same name was located twenty miles from the entrance and had a population of about 1,500 before the war in Perak in 1822. It was the residence of the Sultan. Langat had about 500 inhabitants while in Jeram the 500 inhabitants were scattered in several small kampongs. The remaining large settlement was located at Lukut where

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(1) Anderson, J. (1824), Political & Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula & the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, pp.190-202.

200 Chinese miners were among its 1,000 inhabitants. Sepang and Tamponi each had 200 inhabitants and Tanjong, 300. Away from the coast, the population were found mainly along the banks of the two rivers, Selangor and Klang, and their tributaries. On the banks of Selangor, Serindit, Sungei Tingei (had each 100 houses) and Kampong Datu (150 houses) were the largest settlements, and only another five villages contained over fifty houses, the remaining twenty kampongs each had less than fifty houses. The size of the villages on the river Klang and its tributaries was not given. Twenty-three of them were listed, including Sungei Lumpur, which was the most important tin producing settlement among other seven, one day's journey from Pahang. It is not certain if it was the origin of the present day Kuala Lumpur.

Although the country was thinly inhabited the picture painted by Anderson suggests a certain degree of stability and prosperity as indicated by the existence of comparatively large settlements. A decade later, Newbold reported of a country of comparative decay, and a population daily decreasing from emigration, and inhabitants wretched by piracies, robbery, plundering and levy contribution.[1]

The emigration/en masse of the inhabitants to the neighbouring states proved detrimental to the development of the settlements. Newbold recalled that in one night in August, 1833, the entire village village of Tamponi fled into the Malacca territory. The village of

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(1) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.32.

Sungei Raya (Sungei Rhya) once boasted of thirty houses. Half of the inhabitants had now fled as a result of the oppressions by the Sultan's son. The misrule of the Sultan and his chiefs resulted also in the depravement of those who remained. The inhabitants of the 'town' of Selangor were extremely illiterate, and in a state of great physical and moral depression.[1]

In the first half of the nineteenth century Selangor became very thinly populated.[2] They spread over the five rivers with the river mouths as the main centres of settlement, where the chiefs levied tolls of produce exported and trade goods imported. The scanty and scattered population together with the foreign origin (Bugis) of the ruling class added to the difficulties of providing a strong focus of central government.[3] The development of the traditional settlements and spatial organization of population were thus handicapped. Tin mining, admittedly the most important source of wealth and the focus point of settlements other than the kuala sites, was desultory and seldom on a large scale. Although the Chinese mining started in the twenties at Lukut and gradually replaced the Malay mining, it was not until the 1840s that it began to spread over to the Klang and Selangor valleys.[4]

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(1) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.29.
(2) The population was estimated to be less than 12,000.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1953)a, 'A Careless, Heathen Philosopher?', JMBRAS, Vol. 26, Part 1, p.86.
(4) Ibid. p.87.

The development of settlements in Selangor before 1850 was characterised by the predominance of the Malay coastal Kuala centres, only punctured by the Chinese mining settlements inland--Lukut (since 1824) and Kanching (1840) in the Selangor valley ; The development after 1850 until the British intervention in 1874 was characterised by the rise of Chinese mining centres, the weakening of the Malay political power and their base: the Kuala settlements. In this aspect the situation in Selangor was parallel to that in Perak during the second half of the nineteenth century, but chaotic conditions in the former lasted longer and became more involved.[1]

Mining Development and the Civil War

Raja Juma'at was granted the district of Lukut in 1846. Benefiting from the rapidly increasing mining revenues, he became the most powerful chief in Selangor until his death in 1864.[2] Lukut might have become the centre of the state had he lived longer. After his death, Lukut entered on a long decline.[3] In the meantime, Raja Juma'at's brother Raja Abdullah succeeded Raja Sulaiman (1853) in Klang district. Backed by Raja Juma'at and the Chinese financiers in Malacca, Abdullah opened up mines in the Klang valley. He succeeded in 1857 to establish the

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(1) Swettenham remarked that 'the normal state of Selangor was robbery, battle, and murder'. Swettenham, F. (1906), op.cit. p.126.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1953), op.cit. p.88.
(3) Lukut was later excluded from Selangor territory.

mining camp on the upper reaches of the river. After initial setbacks, the new mining centre prospered: that was the beginning of Kuala Lumpur. About fifteen miles north of Kuala Lumpur, in the upper Selangor valley, Sultan Abdul Samad also invested in Kanching mines where the Chinese miners had been at work a decade ago, and settlement was well established.[1]

The discovery and expansion of the new mines had repercussions affecting settlements within and beyond the state boundary. The mining centres at Kuala Lumpur and Kanching required more labourers, miners from Lukut in the state, Larut in Perak and Sungei Ujong in Negri Sembilan were brought in. Their skills and experiences contributed to the development of the industry, but their association with the Secret Society, prevalent in the places where they came, also introduced into the state the distruptive forces which undermined the Malay authorities.

In short, the fourties and fifties saw the trickling of the Chinese miners thicken into a flow, bringing in its wave both qualitative and quantitative innovations in the mining industries. Mining areas were opened up and settlements began to mushroom and flourish, and wealth from mining accumulated. But the strain and stress brought about by this new development was beyond the Malay feudal system of administration to bear. Wealth corrupted and eroded the Malay political powers, the conflict between the Chinese miners backed by the supporting merchant

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1953)[b], op.cit. p.89.

interests in the Straits Settlements brought down the administrative machinery. The economic, political and strategic circumstances of the time[1] had made the Civil War of the sixties and early seventies inevitable.

The civil war had its beginnings in the quarrels separately between the Malay Chiefs and between the Chinese miners. The bone of contention was tin, the Malays over the tin revenues and the Chinese, the tin-fields. Tin bound the contending parties to form groups. The conflicts were complicated and intensified, with the Chinese gradually becoming the main contestants.

The civil was begain in 1866, and during the first phase, the fighting was considered to be nothing more than a family squabble between the Malay chiefs.[2] In that year both Sultan Abdul Samad and his brother-in-law Abdullah claimed taxes from Klang. Abdullah was previously given charge of Klang by Sultan Muhammah. He brought in the Chinese miners, who in turn opened up tin-mines up river and founded Kuala Lumpur. Abdullah was able as a result to collect a large revenue. His success was jealously resented by Raja Madhi, whose father failed to make any headway using the Malay fossickers and tin-washers when he ruled the same district. When a fued between Bugis and Manilings broke out, Raja Mahdi took advantage of the offer from the Bugis to fight Abdullah, and made a bid fro the control of Klang. At the end of the

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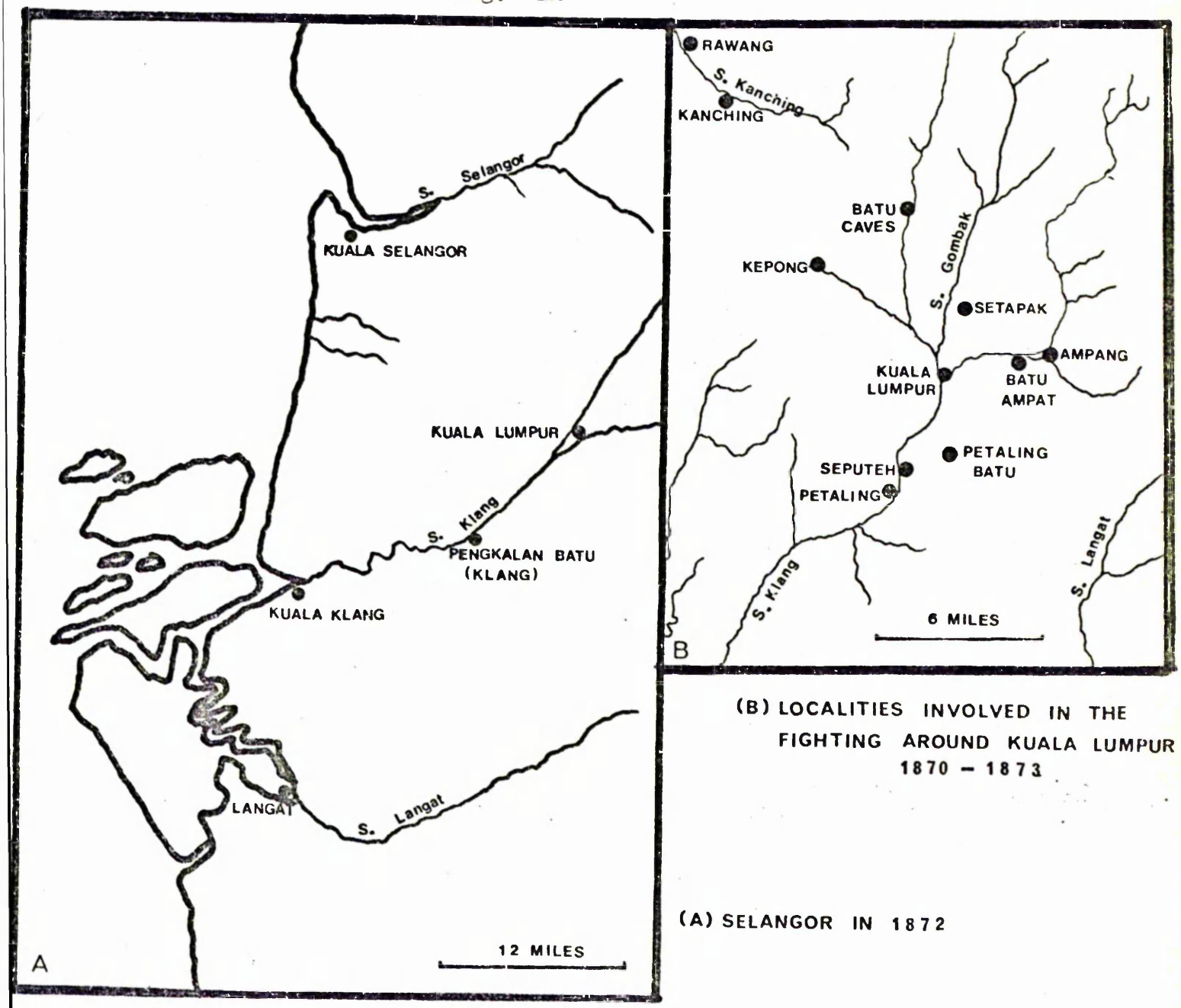
(1) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), 'Yap Ah Loy', JMBRAS, Vol. XXIV, Pt. II, p.6.
(2) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.6.

Fig. IX



(B) LOCALITIES INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING AROUND KUALA LUMPUR 1870 – 1873

(A) SELANGOR IN 1872

year Raja Mahdi starved his enemies into defeat. Klang fell and Kuala Lumpur submitted.

Throughout the war, both sides aimed at controlling the revenues of the tin mines of the interior. At the outset the struggle was for the river mouths by which the tin was exported. It then moved to the interior and the mining areas. In time of peace, the control of tin-revenues meant wealth, power and influence; once hostilities started, 'gunpower, muskets and followers relied on the revenue money. That was where the Chinese came in. But before involving themselves in the Malay conflicts, the Chinese mining communities in Kanching and Kuala Lumpur had formed into two rival camps, like those in Perak. Kuala Lumpur and Kanching were only fifteen miles apart, near enough to each other for occasional forays and raids to take place. In terms of the Malay geo-politics, they belonged to the Klang and Selangor valleys respectively. Further complications were introduced by the Chinese merchants in the Straits Settlements who financed and backed their frontmen in the fields, and 'provided the sinews of war'.[1] In the meantime, unique to the Malay politics of the time, the Sultan of Selangor Abdul Samad, who laid claim to the right of revenue of Klang, got away from the storm centre by moving his royal seat from Klang to Kuala Langat.[2]

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(1) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.6.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1953), op.cit. p.90.

The civil war, as far as the Malay chiefs were concerned, ended in Tunku Kudin's victory in 1873, and the British intervention in the following year foiled any attempt by his opponents to reverse the tide.

For the Chinese miners, when the fighting was confined to the forts at the mouths of the Klang and Selangor rivers (Klang changed hands twice) as was the case until 1869, it was largely the civil war fought between the Malay chiefs; but from 1870, the main centre of the struggle was for the direct mastery of Kuala Lumpur by which the victor would have more effective control of its tin revenues,[1] it was a war over the control of the tin-fields. And it became a war between two Chinese mining groups, each had financial backing in the state and in the Straits Settlements. The rivalry between Kanching and Kuala Lumpur, reminiscent of that between Kamunting and Taiping in Perak, had the same origin and complication in which the rivalry of Malay powers were instrumental to the ambitious Chinese mining groups in extending their hold to the nearby mines. The Larut war resulted in the destruction and re-building of Kamunting and Taiping with the latter gaining local predominance, only to be overshadowed by a new centre in the interior--Ipoh. The outcome of the civil war in Selangor helped established Kuala Lumpur's domination which has not been challenged since.

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(1) Ibid.

One would expect that as the fighting was limited to two of the five valleys, the kuala centres of the valleys unaffected by the war could benefit and establish themselves. That was however not the case, except Kuala Langat, to which the royal seat and tin export from Kuala Lumpur was diverted.[1] The tin export must have given Kuala Langat and its ruler substantial material gains as evidenced by the presence of the Chinese shopkeepers and the allegation that the Sultan had deliberately kept the civil war alive.[2]

It has been suggested that the civil war was confined to Selangor and Klang valleys because the Sultan himself held Langat and the chiefs at Lukut and Bernam were too strongly entrenched to be displaced.[3] It is reasonable to assume that a substantial tin revenues was the direct cause. Lukut, though the pioneering area of tin mining in the then Selangor, had declined when the civil war began while the other two valleys had not been noted for tin deposits. As in Perak, tin mines provided the source of wealth and power, the root of conflicts and the incentives fof development of settlements.

The civil war in Selangor, indeed the chaotic situation in the Malay states in the peninsula was put to an end by the British intervention in 1874. The excuse for intervention in Selangor was the act

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(1) During the civil war, Langat accommodated twenty or fifteen Malacca boats in the river for trading at the same time. See Winstedt, R.O. (1934)b, op.cit. p.22.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1953)b, op.cit. p.91.
(3) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.6.

of privacy against a Malay trading vessel from Malacca, the British Straits Settlements, by the Sultan's son at Kuala Langat. The real motivation lies in the change of policy by the European powers: shifting from spheres of influence to territorial annexation, following the increase of demand for raw materials. The extension of their merchants interests from trade to the investment in production could not be safeguarded by the policy of non-intervention any longer. The fighting in Klang and Selangor valleys and the spill-over into the neighbouring states put in danger the interests of the merchants in the Straits Settlements. Intervention was inevitable.

As in Perak, British intervention marked a new era in the state and provided a new political-economic framework conducive to urban development. But unlike Perak, settlements in Selangor had by then reached a more advanced stage. One of the mining centres was Kuala Lumpur.

Kuala Lumpur: The Beginning

Anderson, listed in 1824 'Sugei Lumpur' as the most important among the seven tin producing villages in the Klang valleys. Gullick thought it 'an intriguing possibility' that Sungei Lumpur was near or on the site of the modern Kuala Lumpur. For 'tin had been mined in the Klang valley for centuries and it is reasonable to suppose that the

the deposits around Kuala Lumpur had been worked from time to time'.[1] However, Kuala Lumpur became a settlement only after the success of mines at Ampang, which was discovered by a party of eighty-seven Chinese miners from Lukut travelling up the Klang river, in 1857. The party arrived first at the site of the modern town at the confluence of the Gombak and Klang rivers and walked overland to Ampang, about four miles away. It was due to the rich mines at Ampang and the convenient river break-of-bulk river location that Kuala Lumpur quickly developed into a trading settlement. In 1859 it was a place consisting of three huts--the Lorong Pudu (the site is still so-called in Chinese (三間莊) till this day)[2] built by two newly arrived Chinese traders to be used as residence and shop-store. Through the river boats, the site was where the foodstuff and essentials for the miners were brought in and the tin produce was exported to the coastal port of Klang. The name Kuala Lumpur was not in use officially or by the Chinese before 1880. The trading settlement was probably known as 'Pengkalan Lumpur', the muddy jetty or landing-place as against Pengkalan Batu, the stone jetty, as Klang was then called.[3] It was given the present name when the state capital was moved from Klang to Kuala Lumpur in 1880. The Chinese name 'Ke-Lam-Pur' (吉隆坡) is

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), 'Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895', JMBRAS, Vol. 28, Part 4, pp.8-9.
(2) Tsou, Pao-Chun, (1967), Urban Landscape of Kuala Lumpur, Nanyang University, Singapore, p.30.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.11.

probably a shortened or corrupted version.

Kuala Lumpur was unique in many ways. It started not as a mining camp but a trading post with urban nucleus from its inception, fed and thrived on the rich mines nearby. The first tin of Ampang was exported in 1859. Within two years of having the first shop, it developed rapidly the two Chinese traders who established business connection with an Ampang-based Malay trader Sutan Puasa, were doing excellently, importing necessities for the mines and exporting tin. Their success attracted others and the place soon became a thriving settlement,[1] so much so that the 'three-hut' post now needed a village headman. The title of which went to no other than Hiu Siew, one of the two Chinese traders. With increased prosperity and flourishing mines the settlement attracted newcomers from China, the Straits Settlements and well-established miners from other tin mines. Yap Ah Loy was one of many, a name inseparable with the early history of Kuala Lumpur.

Yap Ah Loy was already the acting headman at Sungei Ujong when he was attracted by the wealth of the new settlement.[2] His association with Hai San brought hostility between Kuala Lumpur and the nearby Kanching, then a thriving town, whose miners were mostly of the Ghi Hin society. Kuala Lumpur apparently benefited from Yap's energetic activities in mining and in business. He opened two mines of his own and a drug shop in addition to managing his employer's mines. He became a wealthy man

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(1) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.19.
(2) Ibid. p.20.

and played a leading part in building a temple. Yap and his success symbolised the progress and problem of the settlement. The period from 1862 to 1867 was one of steady expansion and prosperity at Kuala Lumpur, marred only by a bitter feud with the miners of Kanching.[1] It had developed into a small town, boasting of six main streets and an area of about twenty acres.[2] One of the main streets, the Old Market, was the business centre while the temple which Yap helped built became the great Chinese religious centre of the town.

In 1868, Yap Ah Loy was appointed the new Captain China of Kuala Lumpur. But the success of Yap, and that of Kuala Lumpur brought the settlement closer to a direct confrontation with the neighbouring Kanching. The Selangor civil war, which so far had been limited mainly to the coastal port of Klang and involved chiefly the Malay rulers had now spread to Kuala Lumpur and Kanching. During the fifties and the early sixties the two settlements were still in their infancy and the miners were fully occupied with opening up new mines and prospecting. Now they were prosperous and thriving settlements, and in the process of extending their field of operation, they came into direct conflict on the same mining ground.

Fighting broke out and with different Secret Society backing, the struggle intensified and the areas involved widened. The capitalists

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.12.
(2) Tsou Pao-Chun (1967), op.cit. p.16.

and merchants in the Straits Settlements who financed the mining, controlled the indented labourers, directed the Secret Society leaders and mining headmen, supported the warring Malay chiefs, would encourage the fights for the control of a rich tin-field over a trivial dispute. In the meantime, the civil war between the Malay aristocracy, entered the second period which was about to spread over from the Klang and Selangor estuaries to the interior. The fighting over the control of the river estuaries was prompted by the control over the inland tin-mine revenues. But as the fighting went on the miners diverted their tin export away from the fighting zones which in turn prompted the Malay warring parties to move inland for direct control of the tin mines. Ampang was the scene of a minor engagement in 1870. Serious fighting were to come later, but the fighting[1] between the Ghi Hin miners of Kanching and the Han San Miners of Kuala Lumpur was a decisive one in which Kuala Lumpur established its dominating position over the hitherto equal rival of Kanching. Kanching had since then paled into insignificance.

The civil war between the Malay chiefs and economic war between

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(1) The fighting between the miners in these two settlements was sometime referred to as 'the Kanching Massacre' as it resulted in the killing of about 100 men belonging to the Kanching while the rest fled. The attackers were led by Yap Ah Loy from Kuala Lumpur, with the help of Sultan Puasa, ostensibly coming to collect the debts on behalf of a Malay chief of Ulu Klang. However, remnants of the Ghi Hin miners, led by Chong Chong, escaped to Kuala Langat; he was aided by most of the Selangor chiefs and above all by Raja Mahdi. Hiu Fatt, A Short History of Yap Ah Loy, cited by Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. pp.48-50.

the Chinese merchants and miners were by now fused into one and spread over other parts of the state. From now on until the end of the civil war Kuala Lumpur became the centre of the struggle with Yap Ah Loy allying with Tunku Kudin while Chong Chong teamed up with Raja Mahdi. Kuala Lumpur fell in August 1872, leaving Raja Mahdi in control of the whole of the interior of Selangor and an outlet to the sea at Kuala Selangor, while the wooden houses of Kuala Lumpur were burnt to the ground. In 1873 Tunku Kudin, with the help of the Pahang Malay mercenaries, tipped the balance of the civil war, and his ally Yap Ah Loy recaptured Kuala Lumpur in March, 1873. Kanching with other settlements was once again ransacked by Ah Loy's men. The recapture of Kuala Lumpur and the reinstallation of Yap Ah Loy as its Capitan China marked the turning point of the civil war, which came to an end with the British intervention in February 1874; and established Yap Ah Loy's position supreme in the interior.

This marks the conclusion of a period characterized by two salient features: (i) the political-cum-trading based Malay kuala settlements were challenged by the tin-production based immigrant interior settlements and (ii) the interior settlements were in the process of sorting out the supremacy among themselves. Kuala Lumpur's rise left Klang, its kuala rival deserted; and Kanching, its interior challenger, almost in ruins. This towering position was more remarkable considering that the town was razed

to the ground either by fire or by the conquering army.

Yap Ah Loy's supreme position lasted till 1880 when the state capital was moved from Klang to Kuala Lumpur, and the control of the town was transferred from Yap to the British administrator. This ushered in a new era as regards the urban development in the state characterized by the impact of the full force of the colonial-immigrant complex. As a result, the 'thriving but raw and rumbustious Chinese mining centre'[1] was transformed in fifteen years into 'the neatest and prettiest Chinese and Malay town', [2] operating within the colonial economy. The transformation of the physical appearance was accompanied by the emergence of a urban community. On the eve of the administrative transfer, in 1880 Kuala Lumpur was still, in Gullick's words 'Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur'.[3] The economic basis of tin-mining and the political system of Chinese mining communities forcefully expressed themselves in the settlement.

Kuala Lumpur Under Yap Ah Loy

Kuala Lumpur, once prosperous, was devasted at the end of the civil war. The mines had degenerated into muddy pools, and the miners' houses, machinery and property were burnt or otherwise destroyed, and

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.16.
(2) Cited by Gullick, J.M., Ibid. .
(3) Ibid.

the miners very much depressed![1] Yap Ah Loy's perseverance however, kept the Chinese in the state. Setting out to reconstruct the economy of the town and its mines, he persuaded the merchants in Malacca and Singapore to finance the rehabilitation in the face of falling price and other risks. By late 1875, he rebuilt his labour force to 60% of that attained in 1870 (10,000) but the next three years found him in financial trouble. He was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1878. The fluctuation of fortune was reflected in the development of the town itself. The town of 1875, rebuilt after the civil war was a great improvement as compared with 1870 but it was much the same in appearance in 1878 as in 1875. The population of the town stayed at about 2,000 during that three years. The original point of settlement at the confluence of Klang and Gombak rivers had developed into the centre of the town known as Old Market. Yap Ah Loy's house was described as the best house of any Chinese in the Malay States at that time.[2] Of significance too was the fact that there was marked division between the Malay and Chinese areas in Java Street, as early as in 1870's.

Another important aspect of development was the road construction in and around the town carried out by Yap Ah Loy. The main mining areas such as Ampang, Pudu, Petaling, Ulu Klang and Batu were linked by tracks or paths with the town. He improved communications to reduce cost of

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(1) Cited in Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.89.
(2) Cited in Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.17.

production and ensure cheap supplies. He also encouraged the Malays in the interior to plant padi to supply cheap local rice. His agricultural venture benefited the nearby settlements of Cheras and Kajang.[1]

The sharp rise of the price of tin in 1879 ushered in a boom in Kuala Lumpur. An influx of miners increased its population by 30% in twelve months. Meanwhile the state headquarters of Klang was in a state of decline, with 'deserted houses, overgrown roads and fields'.[2] The British authorities seized the opportunity and moved the centre of government to Kuala Lumpur in March 1880.

The move was symbolic in many aspects. The replacement of the kuala centre by a thriving interior centre was complete. This was done with the British authorities in control, while the groundwork--restoring the economic health of the town and creating new prosperity for its further development was carried through by Yap Ah Loy.

Ironically Yap's success was his downfall. He was almost supreme in the interior when the settlement was raw and rumbustious. However, once the settlement was nursed back to health from devastation and was fit to be the centre of the government, his elementary system of municipal administration was thought to be unable to withstand the strain of the rapid development.[3,4] The transfer of power was motivated by the

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(1) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.90.
(2) Cited in Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.94.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.16.
(4) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.94.

British desire for a stronger economic and political control of the fast developing and increasingly prosperous interior of the state. It was part of renewed effort of the British Forward Movement in the Malay Peninsula, aiming at the hinterland, which was temporarily halted with the murder of J.W. Birch in Perak in 1875.[1]

In Selangor, the recovery of Kuala Lumpur and the success of the Chinese mining enterprise towards the end of the 1870s revived the keen interests of the European companies in the state[2] immediately after the removal of the capital. The new governor of Perak, Sir Frederick Weld remarked that (when he wrote to the Scretary of State in 1881) 'We must look to the development of the great resources of the peninsula for the extension of our trade'.[3] The direct control of Kuala Lumpur was prompted, not by Yap Ah Loy's failures, but by British's economic and political need at the time in the peninsula.

Indeed, Yap Ah Loy's ability and energy proved to be prodigious even after the British took over the administration of Kuala Lumpur and before he was taken ill in 1884. (He died the following year.) He held two thirds of the urban land of the town east of the Klang river, and much of it had been developed. Of 220 buildings in

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(1) Thio, E. (1926), 'The British Forward Movement in the Malay Peninsula, 1880-1889', in Tregonning, K.G. Papers on Malayan History, Singapore, p.122.
(2) Sadka, E. (1968), The Protected Malay States 1874-1895, Kuala Lumpur, p.349.
(3) Parliamentary Papers, C.3095 (1881), Weld to C.O. 31 May 1881.

1880, sixty-four belonged to him. In addition to house and shop property, he owned a brickfield and kiln, a smelting shed and mine workshop, pig-styes, cattle sheds and slaughter-house, a lime-kiln, a market and gambling farm. He also provided refuge for the sick and helped found the first Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur.

With such wide range of interests and business enterprise he, as Middlebrook put it, had important functions in the economic life of the community. He controlled the market in tin and in a position to stand surety for others to secure loans and bonds. Of the tinfields around Kuala Lumpur, he held nearly half the area under lease to Chinese miners. His Ampang mine was 'one of the finest in the world'. Yap was the first to install steam engine for pumping and owned several out of a total of eleven in the state. During the 1880s, in addition to the mines round and near Kuala Lumpur and Ampang, he took the lead in opening up naw fields further away.

Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was indeed 'Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur'. Yap's influence went far beyond the municipal limits of the capital town. With mines under his control and management in Petaling, Setapak, Pudu, Kual Kubu, Serendah, Kepong, Chendaras and elsewhere and farms in Ulu Selangor and Ulu Langat, he did more than promoting economic and settlement development in those areas.

As a result of Yap's effort Kuala Lumpur functioned as a central place of high order, financing and directing enterprises elsewhere, it

also became a source centre of innovative waves, providing a lead in ideas and technological changes. Road constructions in and around the capital provided closer spatial link between the town and the mining areas. Thus, before the 1880s, the urban process in Kuala Lumpur, and its spatial interaction with the outlying settlements added a dynamic dimension to the development of the state.

Kuala Lumpur and the other Centres

Kuala Lumpur's importance could also be seen through the decline or non-development of other centres in the state. Klang was the state capital up till 1880. It hardly lived up to its status. Bird, one of the eye-witnesses of the time, recalled that, Klang was only 'the capital after a fashion' because the Resident lived there;

> 'but the true capital, created by the enterprise of Chinamen, is thirty-six miles farther inland, the tin-mining settlement of Kuala Lumpur.../ Klang was a / almost misthriven, decayed, dejected, miserable looking place...It looks like a place which has "seen better days", and does not impress one favourably as regards the prosperity of the State...It looks as if half the houses were empty, and certainly half the population is composed of Government employees, chiefly police constables. There is no air of business energy... even the few Chinese look depressed...'1

One could hardly believe that this was the 'first town' of Selangor just more than half a century ago, with a population of 1,500. It is

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(1) Bird, L.L. (1883), The Golden Chersonese and the way thither, London, pp.215-21.

even harder to believe that it was both the capital of Malay Sultanate and the colonial administration when the above description was written.

Apart from Klang, the rest of the five main river mouth settlements did not enjoy the combination of political power and trading boom as did Klang, except Kuala Langat for a short while during the civil war. Lukut, where the older mining centres in the state were developed, had long declined and was by this time included in the state of Negri Sembilan. Bernam area had never really developed any settlement of importance. Even during the civil war years, it was practically uninhabited, except for one village, some twenty-five miles from the sea.[1] Kuala Selangor benefited from the mines in the interior but could not rival the position of Klang. Towards the end of 1870s, it was 'a most wretched place--worse than Klang'. What remained was a fishing village of mat and atap, and a street of Chinese shops.[2]

The 1860s and 1870s then, witnessed the stagnation and decline of the coastal settlements. The mining settlements in the interior, some with urban nucleus, came into being. An older mining settlement, Kanching, however, being the first victim of Kuala Lumpur's rise, as a result of its physical proximity, passed its peak towards the 1870.[3] Petaling,

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(1) Swettenham F. (1906), op.cit. p.127.
(2) Bird, I.L. (1883), op.cit. p.243.
(3) Syers, the superintendent of police in Selangor confirmed in the early 1880s that Kanching and Samantan had ceased to be mining centres of importance.

Setapak, Serendah, Chenderas, Kepong, Damansara, Cheras, Kajang, Rawang, Sungei Besi Bamatan etc. all became important because of mining, while Kuala Kubu, Ulu Yam, Bandar etc. benefited from the mining in the area or gained strategic importance during the civil war.

Although the importance of the interior settlements represented by Kuala Lumpur was not officially acknowledged until 1880, the trend of change had been shown earlier. Until 1878 for instance, serious cases in Kuala Lumpur were remitted for trial in Klang; between 1878 and 1880 the High Court and the Magistrate's Court were held monthly in the town itself,[1] which demanded the presence of the Resident. Administrative officers had earlier on visited the town occasionally.

The situation of Kuala Lumpur perhaps sums up the developments and the problems faced by the settlements in the interior in the 1870s. The first three years witnessed intensification of the civil war which engulfed large areas inland that was followed by the British intervention. Although peace and order returned, restoration of tin production and economic recovery took a few years to catch up. In Kuala Lumpur, only the sharp rise of tin price in 1879 provided the necessary impetus to put it on its way to becoming the capital of the state. The modern physical development began after the disastrous fire in 1881 which destroyed the whole town, till then built with plank and palm leaf

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(1) Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.91.

thatch. The town was rebuilt in brick or adobe with tile roofs. But the town did not become a modern centre overnight. In 1882, Swettenham was said to be appalled at what he found. The streets were narrow and crowded, only twelve feet wide and impassable; the market filthy; and in the rest of the town 'the refuse of the drains is simply removed therefrom and laid on the side of the road...'[1] Fire and epidemics remained a constant danger. However, the 1880s was the decade of rapid development which 'put Selangor rather ahead in the interstate race for progress'.[2] More significantly, the development had its focus on Kuala Lumpur. The remarkable increase of tin production and commercial activities, the forthcoming construction of the first railway and the road system in the state, and the confirmation of its F.M.S. capital status, symbolising the momentum of the forces released by the colonial-immigrant complex, were to transform it into the most important nodal point of the entire urban system on the mainland.

Setting in the 1880s

The year 1880 marks the watershed in the development of Kuala Lumpur. The removal of the administrative capital from Klang to Kuala Lumpur symbolised the close of an old era and the beginning of another. The former,

(1) Swettenham, F. cited by Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. p.93.
(2) Swettenham, F. (1942), Footprints in Malaya, London, p.80.

dating back to 1850s, witnessed the rise of the interior immigrant centre at the expense of the traditional coastal settlement. Immigrant activities dominated the scene and nurtured the mining-trading post into a thriving frontier town. The new era was characterised by the supremacy of the colonial control over the immigrant and the indigenous elements.

The next two decades had all the hallmarks of the colonial-immigrant drive in transforming the mining town into a national capital. In spite of the initial obstacles, the state of Selangor proved to be conducive as a locale for the development of a national capital. As Swettenham observed:

> 'Once British influence was established, there was a great influx of Chinese immigrants to Selangor, and development in that state went ahead more rapidly than elsewhere because the people with vested interests...were so much fewer than in other states. It was, therefore possible to introduce reforms andpush in public works in Selangor without opposition either direct or indirect'.1

With a free hand Swettenham could plan 'a system of road where none existed' and build one 'in any direction and by the easiest line...'[2] The mines were put in road communication with the nearest navigable points on the main rivers of the state. As the mines, though scattered

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(1) Swettenham, F. (1942), Footprints in Malaya, London, p.81.
(2) Selangor was the first state where the road-making system was introduced in 1882. He began by making cheap bridle roads with intension of widening them and finally metalling the roads and putting in permanent bridges. And 'in a few years it was possible to ride from the northern to the southern boundary of Selangor, while nearly all open mines had a passable track...' Ibid. p.82.

were the largest gathering areas of people, the construction of road, which reinforced the time-honoured river transport, had the effect of spatially organizing the inhabitants, the settlements and the economy into a closer unit. The concentrated population, easy and efficient lines of communication contributed more than other factors in bringing about an urban development characterised by the dominance of fewer centres.

As in Perak, the road-construction was accompanied by municipal planning, which together had far-reaching effects. First, a series of urban centres were called into being with conscious urban controls; secondly, because of the concurrent strenghtening of lines of communication and the unified development under a single political framework, it had the effect of producing o a well-coordinated system of centres, operating and interacting within a spatial economy.

It was against this auspicious setting of vigorous urban process and spatial integration in the state that the making of the capital got under way. Indeed, the capital city was itself the vital point on which, and from which, the transportation networks converged, and radiated. It was also the centre of urban process and innovation for lesser towns. Its central position within the tin belt, enchanced very considerably its nodality in the urban system fashioned in no small measures by the corridor-centred economic landscape.[1]

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(1) c.f. Whebell, C.F.J. (1969), 'Corridors: A Theory of Urban Systems', AAAG, Vol. 59, No. 1, pp.1-25.

Improved Transport Networks

The effort to develop the mining town into the capital initiated by the colonial-immigrant complex, took many forms in a circular and cumulative sequence, with cause and effect merged into one. The pivotal link in the chain of development, however, rested with the mining industry. Various mining areas had been linked to Kuala Lumpur by road, built during Yap Ah Loy's reign. Road link between Kuala Lumpur and the port of Klang, through which the tin products were exported and mining equipments imported, was beyond Yap's capability to provide, economically or technologically.[1] The then existing means of communication was by river, which took three days to cover the journey of forty miles. It was realized that the economic progress of the capital, indeed the tin industry in the state was held back by transportation difficulties. Hence the proposal of a rail link between the port and the state capital.

The preliminary surveys were carried out in 1883, three years later the line was ready for use; in another three years it was reported to yield an annual profit of twenty-eight per cent on the capital invested.[2] The profit by the railway provided a feedback for further development,[3]

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(1) Yap constructed a road between Kuala Lumpur to Damansara, half way to Klang, to pay off his debt. The road was badly built. See Middlebrook, S.M. (1951), op.cit. pp.96-7.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.47.
(3) The construction of the Connaught Bridge over the Klang River was made possible by the large profits from the Bukit Kuda--Kuala Lumpur line.

but the line itself stimulated progress within and beyond the capital city. The Kuala Lumpur-Klang line cut the three-day journey from the commercial centre of the inland mining area to the port to within hours. A situation analogous to that of a river-capture developed. As Gullick observes, 'With the completion of the railway line in 1886 from Klang to Kuala Lumpur trade with Ulu Selangor began to move cross-country to the railhead at Kuala Lumpur instead of down its own river line to Kuala Selangor!.[1]

The success of the Klang line in spurring the mining industry near and around Kuala Lumpur encouraged opening up of new mining areas and better communications between the mining areas and the capital. The new mining areas, such as Kepong, Rawang, Rawang, Serendah and Kuala Kubu were at greater distance from the state capital, but they were all linked to it by railway lines by 1895. The rail links and the existing feeder roads[2] facilitated not only the development of mines, but also diverted the traditional outlets down Selangor river of these areas to Klang river via Kuala Lumpur. Such development led to hinterland piracy which benefited Kuala Lumpur and Klang at the expense of other declined kuala sites.

The mining industry, which was the raison d'etre of the railway

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.50.
(2) Road links from Kuala Lumpur to Ampang, Batu had existed in early 1870s. In late 1870s and early 1880s, Batu Tiga, Cheras and Kajang too were linked by roads to the state capital.

construction, was given a new impetus by the improved communication. In return, the tin industry provided the main-stay of railway revenuew. By 1895, seventy-five miles of track was constructed in the state, with all the lines radiating from Kuala Lumpur. And in Kuala Lumpur area alone, there were in 1887, not less than forty-six large mines. The mining industry expanded in numbers and areas,[1] improvement of method and equipments too was discernible. Although the mechanisation of tin-mining (such as the introduction of steam engine and centrifugal pump) was due mainly to the European ventures in mining in the state, the railway/road networks made the moving of the heavy equipment easier. The railway also helped make diffusion of the technology to tinfields afar possible, and more speedy.[2] Later, the rail/road networks were the major contributing factor in the phenomenal success of the commercial plantation.

The interlocking and complementary development of tin-mining and the rail/road created trade, industry and a wide range of related

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(1) It was estimated that there were a thousand mines, large and small, and some 20,000 to 24,000 miners in the state in 1884. Of the total miners, some 3000 worked in tinfields away from Kuala Lumpur. By 1886, about 5,000 out of 26,500 miners were in Ulu Langat and Ulu Selangor. See Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.57.

(2) The steam engines used on Chinese mines increased from two in 1884 to fifteen in 1885 and ninety-nine in 1888. This took place in the face of the fluctuation of tin price (from $33 per picul in 1882 to $23 in 1884 and back to $30 in 1887). Ibid. pp.56-7. Although the slump of the European mining enabled the Chinese miners to purchase the expensive engines at bargain prices, the improvement of rail and road communications in the state helped spread the modern technology.

activities in the town. This was matched by the increasing prosperity, rapid increase of population efforts in improving the sanitary and general conditions of the town.

Rapid Growth & Planning

The population of Kuala Lumpur, estimated at 2,000 in 1878 and 3,000 in 1880,[1] had risen to 4,054 by 1884 and 25,000 by 1895.[2] An eightfold increase in one and half decades is very impressive by any standard. The rapid growth of the urban communities in, and the mining settlements around, Kuala Lumpur, made pressing demands on the town as regards food supply, housing and other amenities.

The increased demand of the population led to the intensification of trade and the expansion of food cultivation. Apart from the exportation of tin and jungle produce, the importation of mining equipment and food stuff for the miners, the traders had now to cater for the needs of the growing urban society. Home markets for the padi and garden produce were enlarged. The improvement of transport also induced cultivation of exports crops. This development widened the functional base of the town itself, and helped urbanize and commercialize its outskirts and the nearby settlements.

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(1) Jackson, J.C. (1963), 'kuala Lumpur in the 1880's: the Contribution of Bloomfield Douglas', Journal Southeast Asian History, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1963, p.119.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.68.

In 1860, there was no considerable agricultural settlement in the inland areas at all. In 1878, the whole Ampang valley was under padi. In 1883, there were padi areas at Batu and Setapak, on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, and fruit trees and market gardens along Ampang Road and Batu Road. By 1884, there was a ring of Chinese market gardens within three-mile radius around Kuala Lumpur. Significantly, much of the produce then sold in the Kuala Lumpur market came from Malay gardens.[1] The resident's report also confirmed the commercialized cultivation. The Malays, he noted, had began small plantations of coffee, tobacco, gambier and many were engaged in 'cutting timber for building purposes and railway sleepers, and firewood for the numerous brick-kilns and mining engines.[2]

The brick-kilns reflected one of the cause-effect circular urban process in Kuala Lumpur on the verge of its 'take off' into self-sustained growth. There was a brick and tile kiln established by Yap Ah Loy before 1878, with a view to exporting the products to Singapore.[3] By the early 1880s the products of this sole kiln proved inadequate even for the town itself. The demand for building materials was made greater by two events, in addition to the growth of the town, namely the rebuilding of the town after fire disaster and the introduction of the new building rules which required houses to be built with brick and tile in place of wood and

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.59.
(2) Report, Resident of the state of Selangor, 1885, cited in Ibid. p.61.
(3) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.39.

palm-thatch. The fire in 1881 destroyed a large part of the town, and a severe flooding in the same year rendered it in ruins. Rebuilding scheme was fused into the desire of the British administration to make the town a healthy and safe place to live in. The brick and tile industry was born in response to this new demand.

Three years later, there were fifteen brick kilns and six lime kilns around Kuala Lumpur.[1] In 1884, 234 houses were built in the town. As the building regulation was just introduced only four of the houses were built with tiled roofs. The following year saw 218 houses built according to the rules. By 1887, there were 518 brick houses in Kuala Lumpur. In addition, a campaign to replace the remaining atap roofed buildings was launched in 1885.

The rebuilding and the introduction of the new regulations marked the beginning of urban planning in the state. Apart from recommanding the use of brick and fire-proof ceilings, the state council also urged the Government to widen and extend the streets and to divide the town into four different quarters. The four quarters recommanded included one for 'the large traders and large shopkeepers', one for 'blacksmiths and other hazardous traders', a third to house the brothels and another for the 'opium shops, cooking shops and confectioners shop!'[2] By 1886, the 'dirtiest and most disreputable looking' place had as a result

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.40.
(2) Jackson, J.C. (1963), op.cit. p.123.

'quite changed its character', and was 'fast becoming the neatest and prettiest Chinese and Malay town in the Colony':

> 'The streets have been widened, metalled and drained, and rows of sufficiently regulated, yet picturesque houses and shops brightly painted and often ornamented with carving and gilding from the streets!1

Stimulated by the rebuilding and the morphological improvement of the town, the brick and tile industry had now come to stay (although some of the kilns were forced to close when the construction boom faded). Similarily, the building of houses and railways (for sleepers and temporary wooden huts and stations) stimulated the sawmill industry, which in turn reinforced the urban development.

Other indications of the vigorous urban process in Kuala Lumpur, were the various functions performed by the town, other than the basic economic activity (i.e. the tin-mining), its concomitant development (e.g. the communication construction) and the related industries (e.g. brick and sawmill manufacturing).

The establishment of the ice and aerated water factory and the bakers reflected the development of light industry catering for the need of the urban population; the appearance of the chemists, the French hairdresser, the hotel in place of the resthouse, the restaurant in place of

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(1) Cited in Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.40.

eating house, signified a higher demand for the nonbasic[1] personal service. The central functions of higher order provided by the town were represented by the growing number of banks, insurance companies and even auctioneers. These functions indicated also the changing character of the town. It had become a commercial centre in addition to its role as a mining and political capital. The three-hut trading post of the 1850s had turned into a commercial town with a shopping centre. Morphologically, the substantial buildings of brick and tile, and the improved and planned streets also began to shake off its image of a 'frontier town' and instil an air of permanency.

The 'Take Off'

In spite of the rapid development in 1880s, however, Kuala Lumpur was still a 'small town', or perhaps no more than 'a larger village',[2] as did other major centres in the interior.[3] It was not until 1890s, especially after the administrative function of the highest order--the capital of the Federated Malay States--was added to it (1896) that Kuala Lumpur marked itself out 'from other growing mining centres elsewhere in Malaya, such as Ipoh, Taiping or Seremban'.[4]

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(1) See Alexander, J.W. (1954), 'The Basic-Nonbasic Concept of Urban Economic Functions', Economic Geography, Vol. 30, July 1954, pp.246-61.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1959), 'Kuala Lumpur in 1884?', JMBRAS, Vol. XXXII, part I, p.199.
(3) It was even suggested that owing to the lack of communications with the neighbouring states, the town was still overshadowed in importance by Klang. See Chong Seck-Chim (1954), 'The Development of Kuala Lumpur District', M.J.T.G., Vol. 3, p.48.
(4) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), A Geography of Trade and Development in Malaya, London, p.251.

The railway reached Kawang (1892) and Kuala Kubu (1894) in the north and Pudu (1893) and Sungei Besi (1895) in the south. A Sanitary Board was set up in 1890 to improve municipal administration and control.[1] Government English School, Government saving bank, new hospital, churches, temples and mosques, European sporting clubs and theatre were established in quick succession. Of symbolic as well functional significance was the completion of the Government buildings and the publication of journal and daily newspapers. The imposing and elaborate government buildings reinforced the status of a capital while the publication of the newspapers[2] signified the growing importance and independence of the town which until then relied on Singapore and Penang for supplies.

Thus for Kuala Lumpur, the year 1895 marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. For Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur, circumscribed by the needs of his time: defence and tin-mining, the sole raison d'etre of the town. By 1895,

> 'the rapid administrative and economic changes of the 1880s had been consolidated. Planting (of coffee) had began in Selangor and the way was thus prepared for the coming boom in rubber. Chinese tin-mining had

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(1) The task of the Board included cleaning, lighting and metalling of streets, upkeeping and widening of roads, erection of Signposts, construction of brick drains, administration of markets, compulsory cleaning and whitewashing of house, the destruction of jungle etc. Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.96.

(2) Tsou, Pao-Chun (1967), Urban Landscape of Kuala Lumpur: A Geographical Survey, Singapore, p.2.

> reached a high point of development though it was soon to be overshadowed by the second and more successful European invasion of the industry'.1

Clearly, as from mid 1890s, galvanised by a new political-economic setting, Kuala Lumpur was able to finally discard its shanty-town image and emerged as a commercial and a capital city. Its capital status was symbolized by the government buildings, various aparatus and the residence of the officials. Its commercial development expressed itself in the formation of the central area, packed with the traditional eastern shop houses and other commercial premises.[2]

More significantly Kuala Lumpur had, by way of improved infra-structure (rail/road networks, the newly established port outlet and other communication facilities) reached out from the interior, and established itself as centre of national (embrassing the F.M.S. and the S.S.) importance.[3]

Socio-economically, Kuala Lumpur had become part and parcel of the

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(1) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.125.
(2) Chong Seck-Chim (1954), op.cit. p.39.
(3) The effect of the transport network on Kuala Lumpur should be emphasized. Chong Seck-Chim observes that prior to communication with the neighbouring states, in spite of its being the commercial and administrative centre for the new industries, the true function of Kuala Lumpur as the commercial headquarters of the peninsula had still to emerge. See Chong Seck-Chim (1954), op.cit. p.39.

colonial-immigrant complex, in contrast to the days when it founctioned as a mining centre and mainly for the Chinese immigrants. For although it was made state capital in 1880, the colonial senior officials in Kuala Lumpur were few,[1] and after the European mining disaster in the 1880s, European economic enterprise had been slow in coming. The European unofficial community was 'very small' until after 1890.[2] But with the rapid growth of European-owned tin mines and rubber estates in the early nineteen-hundreds, European commercial interests were also grafted onto the political and Chinese economic activities of the city.[3]

It has been suggested that Kuala Lumpur was made capital of the F.M.S. in 1896 because it 'happened to be existing local administrative centre with a reasonable site'[4] and because of its central position within the tin belt.[5] The choice however, also seems to reflect the desire of the colonial administration to locate the capital in a more 'neutral' ground. Kuala Lumpur was then relatively remote from the traditional rulers and the Chinese vested interests were less entrenched

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(1) These included the Resident and those in charge of 'lands and courts', police and the treasury.
(2) Gullick, J.M. (1955), op.cit. p.37.
(3) McGee, T.G. (1963), 'The Cultural Role of Cities: A Case Study of Kuala Lumpur', J.T.G., Vol. 17, pp.178.
(4) Murphey, R. (1957), 'New Capitals of Asia', E.D. & C.C., Vol. 5, No. 3, p.236.
(5) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.651.

here than, say, in Ipoh.[1] It was an ideal locale for centralized administration to develop and 'to introduce reforms and push in public works...without opposition...'[2]

Once Kuala Lumpur was made the capital, three factors speeded up its urban process: the concentration of administrative functions,[3] the improvement of transportation and economic expansion of the F.M.S. Of the first, immediate progress was made after 1896 to build up a new Federal administration:

> 'A Legal Adviser, a Secretary for Chinese Affairs, a Judicial Commissioner, a Commissioner of Police, and a Director of Public Works were all shortly appointed and their subordinate staffs began to grow. As the Federation grew and flourished, other departments were added to meet new needs, until finally a complete secretariat was established at Kuala Lumpur which wholly overshadowed its miniature rivals or subordinates in the several states'.[4]

The administrative concentration aroused considerable opposition

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(1) The influence of Yap Ah Loy had then been overshadowed by the British control.

(2) Swettenham, F. (1942), op.cit. p.81. Emerson also contends that 'Under indirect rule...it is necessary to concentrate on pageantry and splendor in the setting of stage, but the real work...must be done largely behind the scenes'. Kuala Lumpur provided such facilities. See Emerson, R. (1937), Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule, New York, p.143.

(3) Throughout the urban development during the colonial period, the rapid growth of the colonial ports was the direct result of the concentration of trade, while the development of major interior centres, after the tin 'rush', was due mainly to the concentration of administrative functions. Kuala Lumpur provides a symbolic example.

(4) Emerson, R. (1937), op.cit. p.141.

from the state governments.[1] And the demand for concentralization was raised in 1909. The decentralization (some legistrative power and financial authority were shifted from Kuala Lumpur to the state capitals) did take place, but not until the 1920s. By then, the paraphernalia of a federal government and its growing ramifications had already rooted in the capital. In addition, the federal departments such as railways, customs and excise, and posts and telegraphs were the monopoly of the federal capital. Other interior centres were distinctly outdistanced.

By the time it was made the federal capital, Kuala Lumpur had already been linked by railway to the port outlet Klang, Sungei Besi the rich mining field, and Kuala Kubu, near Pahang border. It was however the completion of the national line in 1909, providing direct rail connection from Singapore to Penang (with the ferry crossings) which placed Kuala Lumpur within physical link with the major centres throughout the western states of the Malaya. The development of road and railway communication stimulated the growth of the towns and brought about economic development and it was Kuala Lumpur of all the interior centres, which received the full force of this development and enhanced

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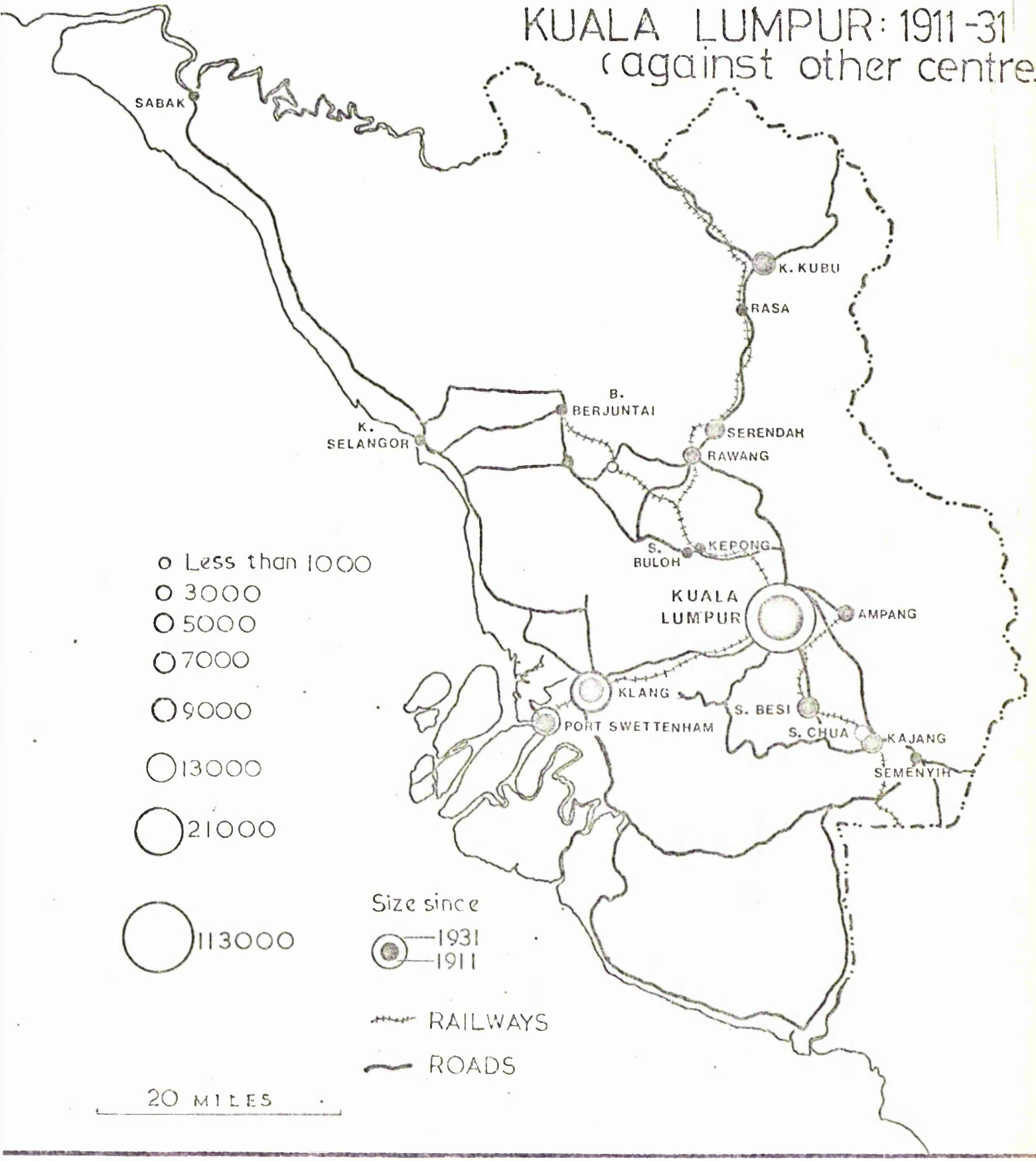
(1) Sir Samuel Wilson observed that 'The State Governments...were powerless to check centralization in the Federal Government and to escape from the ever expanding activities of the federal departments'. See Wilson, Sir Samuel (1932), 'Visit to Malaya' (Cmd. 4276 (1933)), pp.6-7.

Fig. X

THE GROWTH OF KUALA LUMPUR: 1911-31 (against other centres)



its centrality and connectivity. The process of 'reaching out' and the concentration of various functions coincided to give added substance to the political capital.

And this was matched by the strengthening of the economic base of the city. Large increase of imports and exports had began in the early 1890s, which prompted the plans to construct a coastal port as its outlet: hence Swettenham Port. (Klang was twelve miles up the winding and muddy Klang River). The period from the turn of the century to the outbreak of the First World War with the rubber industry coming of age (the export of rubber began in 1907) and tin industry enjoying a renewed expansion,[1] saw a colossal economic development in the F.M.S. Kuala Lumpur was at the centre of the general rush of development and the accompanied prosperity. In addition to the government institutions, and large railway station, the capital saw between 1905 to 1915 the construction of commercial premises, residential shop and terraced houses on an increasing scale.[2] It now needed an ocean rather than a coastal port.

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(1) In spite of the rubber, mining was still important as a driving force in the urban process. As Bennet observes, the growth of Kuala Lumpur during 1900 and 1920 was mainly in two directions: along Batu Road to the north and Padu Road to the east. Both were mining areas. See Bannet, W.J. (1961), 'Kuala Lumpur, A Town of Equatorial Lowlands', T.E.S.G., 52, p.328.

(2) Concannon, T.A.L. (1955), 'A New Town in Malaya: Petaling Jaya, Kuala Lumpur', M.J.T.G., Vol. 5, 1955, p.39.

The Development Of Its Port Outlet

Kuala Lumpur's economic growth was reflected in the development of Port Swettenham. The port was only in use since 1901. Until 1907 the harbour was large enough to handle coasters and ocean steamers, eight or nine at a time. A year later, the port was often congested.[1] And by 1914, the main function of the port had changed. It was no longer a port mainly serving coastal steamers, as was originally intended, but had become a thriving ocean port.[2] Construction of ocean wharves began in 1912. At the same time, the tonnage of goods handled by the port was on the increase while the type of commodities passing through the port had changed. Tin was before 1906 the chief commodity, after that, rubber was the main item, and both formed the bulk of exports.

TABLE 8

The Growth of Port Swettenham: Ships Handled

Year	Ships over 75 tons		Native Crafts		Year	Ocean Steamers	
	No.	tons.	No.	tons.		No.	tons.
1902	1,949	612,813	394	6,034	1006	14	n.a.
1904	1,386	931,938	n.a.	n.a.	1908	112	383,577
1906	1,213	974,211	653	8,343	1910	224	751,755
1908	1,133	1,119,483	415	11,603	1914	281	1,026,478

Source: Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963), A History of Port Swettenham, Singapore.

(1) Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963), op.cit. p.9 and Wright, A. and Cartwright, H.A. (1908), Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya, London, p.191.
(2) Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963), op.cit. p.9.

TABLE 9

The Growth of Port Swettenham: Goods Handled

Year	Goods Received by rail	Goods Forwarded by rail
1902	28,232	103,053
1906	28,802	147,524
1910	32,678	174,659
1914	53,414 (exports)	233,046 (imports)
Year	Total Value Imports & Exports	Goods
1901	$42,784,621.00	mainly tin
1907	$54,984,961.00	rubber & tin

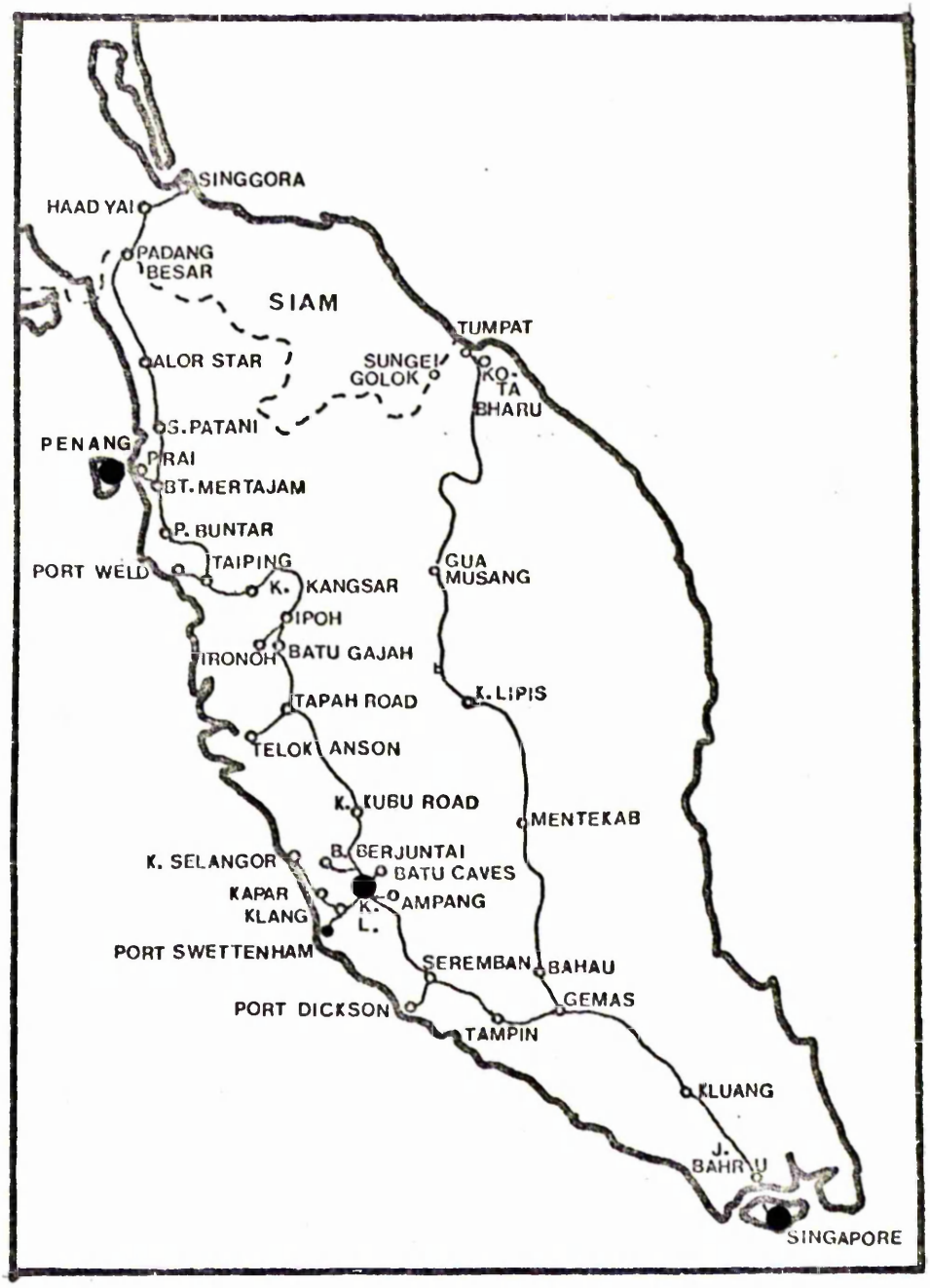
Source: Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963)

The growth of Port Swettenham represented the outward expression of the economic and urban development of Kuala Lumpur:

> 'Port Swettenham's function from the start was clearly that of port to Kuala Lumpur and to a relatively small central hinterland. The nature of its trade and its degree of prosperity were closely tied to the economic role of Kuala Lumpur...it was the demand engendered by the overall urban growth of Kuala Lumpur that most clearly characterized Port Swettenham's role'.1

(1) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.251.

Fig. XI



CENTRAL LOCATION OF KUALA LUMPUR & PORT SWETTENHAM. (Note the terminal position of Singapore & Penang)

Port Swettenham could not, however, within the colonial framework, outgrow or compete with the entrepot ports of Singapore and Penang. Although it was originally intended as an alternative to provide quick transhipment of import and export for the F.M.S., it failed to develop into an entrepot port of real significance. This is partly indicated by the fact that its exports was greatly outweighted by its imports. It became a supply depot for Kuala Lumpur and the central Malaya but far from able to substitute for Singapore and Penang, in spite of its proximity to the capital and the vast hinterland. The spatial regulating forces of the colonial economy had again made itself felt. The Singapore-Penang railway undoubtedly gave Kuala Lumpur a pivotal position in the spatial urban system, but it also diverted to Singapore and Penang a major proportion of the export commodities which could otherwise have found their way to Port Swettenham. The railway also facilitated the transportation of tin products to Singapore and Penang where smelting works were located, without touching Port Swettenham.

Thus, the concentration of political functions and the economic expansion resulted in a sort of 'take off' for Kuala Lumpur. The efforts of 'reaching out' through railway, however, had the effect of curtailing the growth of its own port, originally created to achieve some measure of economic independence from Singapore and Penang.[1] The economic and

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(1) 'Until communication was established with Singapore, Kuala Lumpur was the chief clearing house for the country's trade passing through Port Swettenham'. See Chong Seck-Chim (1954), op.cit. p.50.

and political glamour of having an ocean port near the capital[1] had had to wait a long while before it turned into a practical asset. The circumscribed development of the third largest port of the entire British Malaya had not only to be seen in the light of the fact that the country was 'not big enough to have half a dozen large ports,[2] but also within the context of the colonial space-economy which at times functioned 'with an apparent disregard of the dangers of lopsided development'.[3] The evolution of the system of cities (including the ports) had in the case of Malaya often been subjected to such lopsidel development.

Kuala Lumpur Between Two World Wars

World War I caused a decline in economic growth in F.M.S. during the first two years. The upward swing resumed after 1916, and expedited in the post-war years. Kuala Lumpur was again the centre of growth. Fresh prosperity and accelerated development was brought about by the rubber boom in the twenties. Its population had vastly increased. Urban development in terms of road improvements, and development of central business district and residential areas intensified between

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(1) Allen, D.F. (1951), Report on the Major Ports of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, pp.34-5.
(2) Proceedings of the Federal Council, F.M.S., 22nd May 1910, cited in Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963), op.cit. p.11.
(3) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.625.

1925--1930s. The scale of physical development could be seen in the expansion of the town area. The rapidity and intensity with which the town developed also necessitated government coordination. A Government Town Planner was appointed in 1922, first in the F.M.S., under whose supervision some major road improvements and the laying-out of the pleasant housing estates in the town were carried out.[1] The first twon plan was prepared in 1933, which remained in force after independence.[2]

By the thirties, in the shadow of Great Depression, Kuala Lumpur had firmly established itself as the colonial-immigrant political and commercial centre of the first order on the mainland. The administrative decentralization demanded by the State Councils did not seriously reduce the importance of the capital. Indeed as Emerson observes, the principal effect of decentralization was not the ruination of the complex federal machinery and economy by Malay rulers and chiefs, but rather the beginning of a revolutionary process with possible result of pushing aside those rulers and chiefs.[3] In terms of urban dominance over the state capitals, Kuala Lumpur's position was enhanced rather than reduced, for the main streams of administrative functions continued to flow through the federal

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(1) Concannon, T.A.L. (1955), op.cit. p.39.
(2) Hamzah Sendut (1965), 'The Structure of Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia's capital city', Town Planning Review, Vol. 36, No. 2, p.127.
(3) Emerson, R. (1937), op.cit. p.342.

channels, located at the federal capital.

> 'By the time of the Federation political control was already essentially sewed up in British hands and the change was largely one of substituting a centralized British administration (primarily on behalf of British and Chinese interests) for a decentralized one. Alien enterprise flourished increasingly and in a short time Kuala Lumpur found itself transformed from a remote country village into the large and modern capital of one of the key economic units of the world'.1

As the capital was administered by the British primarily for the interwoven colonial-immigrant interests and thrived on highly organized European and Chinese tin and rubber industry, it inevitably took on a distinctively foreign complexion in the Federated 'Malay' States. Kuala Lumpur of the thirties was described as a city of European government buildings, European and oriental banks and businesses, and Chinese and Indian traders and workers, with reminiscent patches of submerged Malay world.[2]

However, as the capital spearheaded in the field of economic

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(1) Ibid. p.352.

(2) Comparing it to Kota Bahru, Emerson has this to say, "[Kuala Lumpur] is a relatively highly developed modern oriental city, reminiscent at many points of Singapore or Penang. With modern paving and street lightings, modern sanitation and housing, it is clearly no offspring of the Malays, who, in fact, contribute somewhat less than a tenth of its population. The work and trade of the city is carried on, for the most part, by the Chinese and Indians,... while the Europeans, from the remoteness of their modern offices, Western houses, and well-appointed clubs, control the political and, to some extent, the economic life of the community..." Emerson, R. (1937), op.cit. pp.249-50.

development, largely with alien capital and labour, it failed to generate any organic relation with the traditional society; as such, its urban influence was felt more strongly, at specific nodes and along the transport lines. The capital was integrated into the economic mesh of the Federated Malay States (which were effectively drawn into one economic unit and organically linked to the Straits Settlements) but was relatively cut off from the traditional society. It was at heart a European-Oriental commercial capital, functioning under the colonial economy.

After four decades of administrative concentration, economic expansion and spatial interaction with other centres, Kuala Lumpur had yet to get rid of another weakness. Through the transport networks, Kuala Lumpur had succeeded in establishing itself at the peak of the F.M.S., but it had yet to achieve commercial freedom from Singapore. Indeed, throughout the entire period as capital of the F.M.S., the capital was always subjected to Singapore's commercial dominance in spite of its role as a distribution and financial centre for much of Malays's trade.[1] In this respect, there is justification in characterizing Kuala Lumpur as a 'small town capital'[2] within the context of British Malaya.

Port Swettenham Between Two World Wars

Port Swettenham became a truly ocean port in 1914, but its early

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(1) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.236.
(2) Murphey, R. (1957), op.cit. p.236.

progress as such was very discouraging, and the increase of shipping tonnage was small before 1925. This could be attributed to the fact that the port still strove under the shadow of Singapore and Penang. The major shipping companies for reason of profits, detested the creation of a third ocean port between Singapore and Penang, which were after all only 500 miles apart. A heavier surcharge (as compared with the other two) on goods was imposed by the Shipping Conferences, organised by the shipping companies to restrict or eliminate competition, and other measures were employed to cripple the young port.[1]

In spite of this hostility and the fluctuation of the export economy, the trade of the port and the volume of traffic did grow, reaching a peak in 1928/1929. A business and residential township also grew around the port which made it an urban centre rather than merely a port of passage. However, trade again suffered when the effect of the Great Depression set in the early thirties. After 1936 however, the port had recovered from the slump and the trade grew to a new height in 1940. The recovery of trade and the growth of the port were partly due to the loosening of the grip indirectly held Singapore and Penang: the surcharge on export cargoes was lifted in 1934; and two years later, the port was included as a base port for tariffs, hitherto reserved for Singapore

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(1) The surcharge was 12s 6d more on a ton of goods other than rubber at Singapore and Penang. The inadequate facilities were made an excuse. In addition, Port Swettenham was excluded as a base port for calculating tariffs. See Mon bin Jamaluddin (1963), op.cit. p.14.

and Penang.[1]

Throughout the period between the two World Wars, as indeed in years preceding and after it, imports invariably greatly exceeded exports (at times up to fourfold) at Port Swettenham. The pattern of trade thus differed from that of Singapore and Penang's. Apart from the difference in quantity, the latter maintained a more balanced import/export structure although since the Depression years, Penang tended to export more than it imported. It is evident that Port Swettenham's share of the country's export economy had been less than its capacity and position allowed. This was made clearer by the fact that Port Swettenham's natural hinterland convered an area as vast as the western coastal belt of Malaya (comprising the states of Negri Sembilan, Selangor and the southern half of Perak), and substantial areas of Trengganu, Pahang and southern Kelantan.[2]

On the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War, the capital of the F.M.S. with Klang/Port Swettenham, had succeeded in establishing itself as the largest urbanized area on the mainland, surpassing Ipoh. Kuala Lumpur, alone, was in the process of replacing Penang as the second largest city in the entire British Malaya. Moreover, with national railway and road networks in operation, spatial integration of the

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(1) Ibid. p.17.
(2) Port Swettenham, Port Facilities and General Information (mimeo.) Malayan Railway, February 1958, cited by Ward, M.W. (1966), 'Major Port Hinterland in Malaya', T.E.S.G., 57, p.244.

colonial economy had brought the major towns and cities in the country into one organic whole. A national urban system had by then come into effective existence. Kuala Lumpur, being the capital of the economically more important and developed F.M.S. (the unfederated Malay States were geographically and economically peripheral to the British Malaya) central to the tin-and-rubber belt, midway in all directions by the rail/road networks, had grown to occupy a key position in the spatial urban system. However, operating within the constraints of the colonial space-economy, both the capital and its port outlet still developed under the shadow of Singapore, and to a lesser extent, Penang.

Post-War Setting

Post-war development of Kuala Lumpur took a different form, with repercusions for its immediate surrounding and other centres in the country. The city's development in the post-war years was influenced by a host of factors: its status as a leading city and its capacity in terms of space to accommodate surplus population from the countryside. There was also a new demographic element. Prior to 1947, the population growth had always been tied to the fluctuation of rubber and tin industries which in turn influenced the inflow and outflow of alien immigrants. The latest development at the capital saw the increase of indigenous population and thus the change of population composition. This was recognized as one of the most striking post-war features in urban development and

significantly it was common to many towns.[1]

This new pattern of development at the capital had its origin in the changed political and economic conditions in the country at large. For, although the Federated Malay States came into being in 1896, there was no definition of devision of authority between state and federation; as a result while British administration was strongly entrenched in the F.M.S. the unfederated states retained a considerable measure of independence. Thus, between 1895 and 1933 the pendulum of politics tended to swing first one way, then another, now in favour of a stronger central government and now in favour of decentralization.[2] As capital of the F.M.S. the concentration of administrative functions at Kuala Lumpur was affected by the swing of power distribution. And although the federal departments were concentrated in the capital, the day to day administration at a lower level were carried out through the subordinate departments in the component states. The concentration of administrative functions at Kuala Lumpur was therefore far from absolute, particularly in the early days.[3]

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(1) Hamzah Sendut (1965), op.cit. p.128.
(2) Hichling, R.H. (1962), An Introduction to the Federal Constitution, Kuala Lumpur, p.5.
(3) The first conference of Rulers for instance took placeat Kuala Kangsa instead of Kuala Lumpur in 1897, although the second one was held in the federal capital. Another infringement of the capital's authority was effected through the Federal Council (set up in 1919 ostensibly to provide bigger States representation in the F.M.S.). The Council's resident was the Governor of the Straits Settlements, through him and his representive, the F.M.S. was hinged more closely to Singapore. See Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. pp.239-40.

After the war, the need to weld the British Malaya into a single effective political unit became clear and it was also realized that the increasing complexity of modern administrative, economic and social developments demanded a simplified but strong central government.[1] A proposal was put forward in London to amalgamate the four Federated Malay States, the five unfederated Malaya States and the two settlements of Malacca and Penang into what was known as the 'Malayan Union'. Singapore, on the grounds of its being a centre of entrepot trade with economic and social interests district from the rest, was excluded from the Union and made a separate colony.

The Union came into force in 1946. It was however short-lived. A major proposal tied to the creation of the Union, namely a common Malayan Union citizenship, (which would be open to all those who could establish a claim by birth or a suitable period of residence, irrespective of race or creed) was opposed by the Malays who regarded it to be prejudicial to their special position. Consequently the Malayan Union was replaced by a new Federation of Malaya in 1948, and Singapore remained a separate Crown Colony.

For Kuala Lumpur, the new political set-up brought about a broader

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(1) In fact, the desirability of one central government had been aired long before the war. The Colonial Office was reported to accept that 'From a purely economic point of view it would no doubt be advisable in a country the size of Malaya to have our Central Government administering the whole territory...' See Winstedt, R.O. (1966), Malaya and its History, (seventh edition), London, p.141.

political and economical base and increased concentration of functions, as both the Union and the Federation favoured a strong central government to ensure economical and effective administration of all matters of importance to the country as a whole. The separation of the colony of Singapore on the other hand allowed it a greater degree of freedom from the port-city. Kuala Lumpur was thus able to emerge from the 'small town capital' of four states to become a national capital in name and in fact. Meanwhile, the controversy over citizen status brought forth by the short-lived Malayan Union fertilized the emergent Malay nationalism,[1] which not only contributed greatly in the struggle for national independence but also had far-reaching effects on the growth of the urban population and its composition at the capital and in the country at large.

Economically the capital and indeed other major centres too were poised for further growth. The country made a remarkable recovery from the crippling effects of the Japanese occupation. By 1947 and 1948 the foundations of the economy had largely been restored and the effects of the war on production and commerce were rapidly disappearing. Economic recovery survived the 'Emergency' in response to the communist insurrection which began in 1948 and continued well after independence. By 1950 the country was able to emerge from its preoccupation with reconstruction

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(1) Wang observes that 'What emerged clearly within three years of the end of the Second World War was the awakening of the bulk of the Malay people to the threat of being overwhelmed by the non-Malay population of Malaya'. See Wang Gungwu (1962), 'Malayan Nationalism', Royal Central Asian Society Journal, XLIX, 1962, p.320.

and plan for further edonomic expansion. From then on up to the period covered by this study, the broad picture of economic activity was dominated by 'an upswing to high prosperity followed by decline, corresponding to world market condition'.[1] (The economy's dependence on world markets with its accompanied fluctuations were vividly demohstrated in the 1950s: the Korean war created a boom period in the early years and a decline set in when the war was over.)

On the whole, however, the Malayan economy was now more varied and complex, and had, by developing countries' standards reached an advanced stage both in per capita income and in structure. Transport, communications and other facilities, as well as secondary industry were reasonably well developed, reinforced by commercial and financial skills and enterprise and efficient public administration.[2] The fact that nearly half of the national income came from activities other than primary raw and food production hinted at attempts to rectify the over-specialization in tin and rubber in the past.

The political and economic advancement could have ushered in a new period of rapid development but for the communist insurrection. As it was, production activities and transport lines were disrrupted and the normal functioning of the country's economy was interfered with.

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(1) The International Bank (1955), The Economic Development of Malaya, John Hopkins Press, p.20.
(2) The International Bank (1955), op.cit. p.20.

Paradoxically, the 'Emergency' necessitated implementation of the resettlement scheme which, by moving more than half a million dispersed and scattered people into 440 'New Villages', converted parts of the Malayan countryside 'into landscapes of entirely new towns and villages'.[1] These together with the establishment of satellite towns and uprating of existing settlements provided the country with a 'distorted' urban development.

Functional And Physical Expansion

This then, was the new setting in which the capital and other centres found themselves in the post-war years up to independence day. The war and the Japanese occupation brought a halt to the export trade and expansion of the capital and its port. Physically, however, Kuala Lumpur suffered little war damage although the same could not be said of Port Swettenham.[2] During the occupation (1941-45), uncontrolled temporary buildings were put up on a large scale. With more people drifting back to the towns when the country came under the British Military Administration at the end of the war, the capital found itself further burdened with increased temporary structures and in addition, military camps inside its town limits. Efforts were made to check

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(1) Dobby, E.H.G. (1952), 'Resettlement Transforms Malaya: A Case-History of Relocating the Population of an Asian Plural Society', E.D. & C.C., Vol. 1, No. 3, p.168.

(2) The destruction of the museum and the railway workshops was the major physical damages sustained by Kuala Lumpur. Port Swettenham suffered severely as a result of British denial action and of Japanese bombing. See Chong Seck-Chim (1954), op.cit. p.50 and Mon bin Jamaluddin, (1963), op.cit. p.19.

unauthorized building and temporary development was planned, but the shortage of permanent housing and increased demand for accommodation rendered futile the endeavours of the local authority.

The magnitude of the problem was reflected by the fact that during the period 1947-51, plans for about 2,000 permanent accommodation units were approved, but not more than 1,200 were actually constructed while approximately 10,000 temporary houses were built within the town limits.[1] To add to the seriousness of the accommodation situation, unauthorized commercial and industrial development also took place in residential and commercial quarters of the capital. Private landownership and topography among other things, made planning and urban expansion difficult both in the central area and on the fringes of the town. It was partly to ease the overcrowded situation brought about by rapid expansion of industry, commerce and accommodation shortage that a scheme of a new town (Petaling Jaya) was conceived.

The unauthorized development of housing undoubtedly contributed to the overcrowding of the city. The growth of the capital, however, was due to the increased concentration of multiple functions in the city. Apart from main functions of administration, commerce and transportation, on which the city thrived, industrial and cultural functions also began to loom large and contributed substantially as city-building factors.

The growth of industry lagged behind the growth of the city.

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(1) Concannon, T.A.L. (1955), op.cit. p.41.

The capital was nevertheless a national centre of industry, concerned mainly with processing of the country's primary products. It had several large rubber factories and numerous smaller ones. Although tin industry in the city was on the decline, it still employed a considerable work force. The capital was the largest sawmilling centre in the Federation. To cater for the need of the growing population, consumer-orientated industries such as foodstuffs, drink, tobacco, clothing etc. were growing in number, size and variety. Older industries in the town like the railway works, engineering, furniture and building materials too received new impetus in the post-war years. In 1947 the manufacturing industry alone absorbed fifteen per cent of the labour force. The growth of industry was one of the main raison d'etre of the satellite town of Petaling Jaya.

Kuala Lumpur's role as an administrative centre was enchanced by its broadened political power. Apart from the concentration of government departments, the snowballing of bureaucratic staff also had its effect on the urban process at the capital. After more than half a century as capital, first of the F.M.S. and from 1948 the Federation, Kuala Lumpur had thrown up a formidable group of political and administrative elite. They were either drawn originally from the ethically mixed middle and upper classes, or had by now grown into better-off socio-economic groups. The multiplicity of government functions made necessary large

increase of their numbers between 1947 and 1957,[1] and significantly, a fair proportion of them were Malays.[2] This increase not only swelled the urban population but also made demands on residential quarters and other social amenities.

Although the capital in the 1950s might have yet to become a heterogenetic city, it was on its way to becoming an important centre of cultural dissemination. It served as the venue for religious and cultural gatherings, and was the national centre for higher education. It boasted of several very large and distinguished secondary schools, teaching training colleges, a technical college and on independence year, a division of the University of Malaya.

The main growth-contributing factors remained to be the concentration of administrative, commercial and transportation and communication functions. The enlarged territory under its authority, the centralization of administration under a strong central government, and the improved transport networks all made for the development of a 'big-city' capital of a fast growing country, shaking off the 'small-town' capital image which was Kuala Lumpur up till 1948.

This was evident in two directions: the development within the town limit, and the areal expansion outside it. The internal growth took several forms: one of these was ribbon extension of built-up

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(1) See McGee, T.G. (1963), 'The Cultural Role of Cities: A Case Study of Kuala Lumpur'; J.T.G., Vol. 17, p.179.

(2) To these were added in the 1950s, an increased member of Malay military personnel and policemen. Hamzah Sendut (1965)[6], op.cit. pp.128-9.

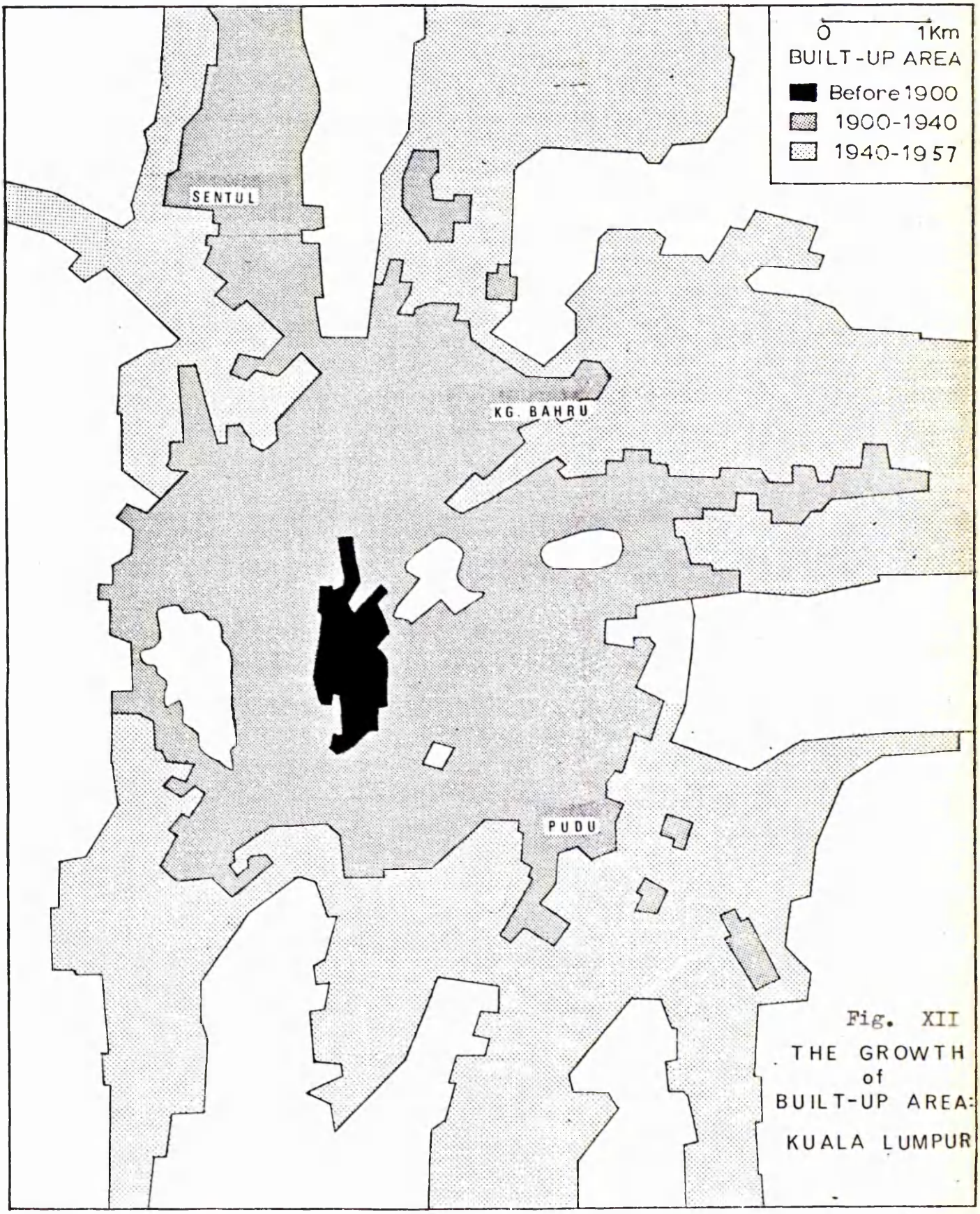

Fig. XII
THE GROWTH
of
BUILT-UP AREA:
KUALA LUMPUR

areas developing in all directions, taking up rubber estates and abandoned mining lands in its wake. Another was the movement of people from the centre to the periphery, as was common in the urban centres in the industrial countries. The city area in 1931 measured eighteen square miles, by 1957 the urbanized area falling within its boundary had extended to thirty-seven square miles.[1] Over the same period, the population increased from 111,418 to 316,230. Externally, the capital was in the process of amalgamating with the industrial estate of Old Klang Road and Petaling Jaya, and the nearby resettling villages to form an extensive urbanized zone, or the 'greater Kuala Lumpur',[2] described by Hamzah as the fore-runner of another great conurbation in the country, apart from Singapore.[3]

True, up to independence Kuala Lumpur was only a third of the size of Singapore, but as Murphey rightly pointed out in the 1950s, Kuala Lumpur's major growth 'is still in the future'.[4] For until recently, while colonial economy prevailed, there was no need for any big city other than the primate city of Singapore.

When Malaya marched towards independence and Singapore's grip began to loosen, the capital asserted itself, through physical and

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(1) Hamzah Sendut (1965)[b], op.cit. p.137.
(2) The new villages and satellite town, outside the municipal boundary, lay within Kuala Lumpur Administrative District, which together with the municipality in 1957 had a total population of 477,224. See Bennet, W.J. (1961), op.cit. p.329.
(3) Hamzah Sendut (1965)[b], op.cit. p.138.
(4) Murphey, R. (1957), op.cit. p.237.

functional growth and spatial interaction with other centres throughout the country. Murphey predicted on the eve of Malaya's independence that as Kuala Lumpur developed to substantial size it might 'exhibit the familiar snow-ball type of growth characteristics of primate cities... with no domestic rivals'.[1] Kuala Lumpur had yet to reach primate status but the position on top of the urban hierarchy had been secured. Writing after the formation of Malaysia, Hamzah observed that thanks to its multiple functions, 'the city dominates not only its immediate tributary areas, but the whole of Malaysia'.[2]

Satellite Town

Nevertheless, the capital was undersized. This was the legacy of the colonial economy. As the capital of a developing nation, Kuala Lumpur was to serve and lead an economy aimed at redressing the lopsided development resulted from the long process of circular causation. In this respect, the tendency towards conurbation rather than primacy was more in keeping with the economic aspiration of the country. And its comparatively small size was compensated by the development of Petaling Jaya, Jinjang and Klang/Port Swettenham which, ignoring for the moment the specific functions each of these perform, could be regarded as areal expansion or dispersion of the capital. This development constituted

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(1) Murphey, R. (1957), op.cit. p.238.
(2) Hamzah Sendut (1965), op.cit. p.132.

a new form of urban process around the capital manifesting surface extension in contrast to point-concentration, characteristic of colonial cities.

The areal expansion around Kuala Lumpur took two forms, symbolizing the transitional throe in which the capital found itself. These were the growing of the old villages within the enlarged Administrative District and the creation of the 'New Villages' further afield. The older villages grew up in the original tin mines, with a population between one and two thousand each. Chinese shophouses and squatter huts still characterized their appearances.[1] Of which, Batu, Salak South and Ampang were typical. The 'New Villages' on the other hand had their origin in the re-settlement scheme. Two of these manifested facets of Kuala Lumpur's rapid and modern expansion. Jinjang to the northwest of the capital, coming into existence in the early 1950s had grown to claim the title of the largest 'New Village' in 1957, not only in Perak but also in the entire Federation. Its population of over 16,600 placed it in the same size-class with Petaling Jaya, a satellite town five miles away to the southwest of the capital.

Petaling Jaya too began its life as a 'New Village' in a poor rubber estate.[2] The establishment of industry near the site and the pressure of population on the capital brought home the feasibility of

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(1) Bennett, W.J. (1961), op.cit. p.329.
(2) Bennett, W.J. (1961), op.cit. p.329.

providing modern urban facilities for work, residence and recreation at the same location.[1] A 'New Town', first of its kind in the country, was thus born.

About 1,200 acres of land were acquired in 1952 for the development of the town, 300 acres of which were set aside for industrial purposes. Works began in early 1954, and by 1957, 3,000 houses were completed (500 underconstruction), providing homes for 20,000. On the industrial front, the response in the early years was poor, due to the availability of industrial land in Kuala Lumpur itself and the slow progress of industrialization in the country at the time.[2] Nevertheless, by 1957 fifty firms had already bought land, twenty-six factories had been built and fifteen plans submitted, with negotiations involving sixteen organisations and seventy-five acres of land in progress. The industries located in the new town included a wide variety, ranging from furniture, aerated waters, oil, printing, rubber, rice, heavy machinery assembly, tiles, spirits, cigarettes and paint.

Though a satellite town of Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya was designed to be a full-fledged urban centre.[3] Apart from homes and factories, it

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(1) McGee, T.G. and McTaggart, W.D. (1967), 'Petaling Jaya: A Socio-economic Survey of a new Town in Selangor, Malaysia', Pacific View-point Monograph, No. 2, p.3.
(2) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.257.
(3) The administration and development of the Petaling Jaya were placed in the hands of the Petaling Jaya Authority--a statutory body, at the beginning of 1955.

was provided with commercial and other amenities.[1] By 1957 sixty shops, sixty lock-up stalls, a market (with 100 stalls), a bank, a post office and a cinema, a hospital and a dispensary were in use. Kindergartens, primary and secondary schools were being built. A town centre was planned. Another development of functional and symbolic importance: the university of Malaya was to be located between the New Town and the capital.

The process of functional diversification and physical modernization within the town boundary at Kuala Lumpur was accompanied by the growth of old villages and the creation of the new villages as well as the satellite town outside its municipality. A fresh urban process was gathering momentum in and around the capital, and beyond.

The Port

The rapid urban process in and around Kuala Lumpur was again mirrored in the development of Port Swettenham. The trade of the port had recorded a rapid rise since the Second War World. Interestingly, much of the trade increase was made up of imports of materials required for the development in the urbanized areas around the capital and the central Malaya. Since 1949 the tonnages of goods handled by the port surpassed the peak period of 1940. And between 1951 and 1956 increase

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(1) For figures on residential, industrial, commercial and other premises, see Petaling Jaya Authority (1957), Petaling Jaya, Malay's First New Town, Kuala Lumpur.

of imports amounted to about 40%. The fact that increase was in the import of construction materials, oil (for power-houses) and foodstuffs indicated the nature of development. Increase of export however was less impressive, even during the trade boom of 1951-53,[1] a reminder of the constraints imposed on the port by Singapore and Penang. The increase of 1956 showed the continued influence of the fluctuating demand for rubber and tin on its trade.

The increase of trade at the port was matched by the enlargement of its hinterland. Before the war, Port Swettenham, with the improvement of rail link, gradually extended its trade and hinterland at the expense of Telok Anson, Port Dickson and Malacca.[2] Further expansion was cut short by the powerful domination by Singapore and Penang. In the 1950s however, its trade areas had extended to Malacca and Johore in the south, and thanks to special low rail freights for long distance, to Perak and even Kedah[3] in the north, and through road links via Kuala Lumpur, to the eastern coast. If the movements of latex was a criterion to go by, Port Swettenham's hinterland in 1957 seems to cut into Penang's sphere of influence.[4]

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(1) Mon bin Jamalludin (1963), op.cit. p.21.
(2) Ward, M.W. (1964), 'Port Swettenham and its Hinterland, 1900-1960', J.T.G., Vol. 19, pp.69-78.
(3) 1,000 tons of latex a month from Kedah had been sent to Port Swettenham for export since 1948. See Mon bin Jamalludin (1963), op.cit. p.20.
(4) Ward, M.W. (1966), 'Major Port Hinterland in Malaya', T.E.S.G., 57, p.245.

There was also physical development after the war. Permanent installations for bulk palm oil and latex were added to the port. In fact, a plan to construct deep wharves was submitted in 1931, but was shelved because of the slump of the thirties. It was considered again after the war in the face of congestion at the port.[1] A Federal Ports committee was set up which recommended construction of three berth at North Klang straits in anticipation of further growth following the trade boom of the early fifties. In spite of Allen's 'make-the-most-of-what-exists'[2] recommondation early on and the International Bank's caution afterwards,[3] the Federal Ports Committee's plan was adopted because trade and traffic at the port did increase. The construction of the three berths, 580 feet long each, and the wharves, 200 feet wide, to be connected to the existing port by a combined road-rail approach and a bascule-bridge over the Klang river, began in 1957.

Despite its growth in trade, population and traffic, as well as physical capacities and hinterland, Port Swettenham remained very much a functional part of the capital. As Ward observed in 1966:

> 'Port Swettenham is unique among the major ports in that it has port facilities but is separated by about thirty

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(1) Traffic increased from just over five million tons in 1947 to well over nine million tons in 1951. See Mon bin Jamalludin (1963), op.cit. p.20.

(2) Allen, D.F. (1956), Report on the Major Ports of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, p.116.

(3) The International Bank (1955), op.cit. p.381.

> miles from its commercial superstructure, which is located in Kuala Lumpur. Agencies and offices in Kuala Lumpur control most of the commodity movements through Port Swettenham, and in many ways the port has up till the present been merely a useful communications appendage to the capital'.1

The observation held good, indeed more so, up till 1957.

Restructuring Of The Urban System

Viewed as a whole, the development of the area in and around Kuala Lumpur and its port after the war represented a surface growth, extending spatially, urbanizing the area in the process. This was in contrast to the pre-war development, which was characterized by concentration at the capital. While strengthening the capital's dominating position in the country, the post-war development seems likely to bring about the emergence of the Kuala Lumpur-Port Swettenham urban corridor. Set against the odds which seemed heavily in favour of Singapore, 'a small scale analogue to Tokyo-Yokohama, with the opposite ends of the conurbation concentrated respectively on administration and trade'[2] was in fact in the making in the late 1950s. This urbanizing progress belies the view that the 'the major characteristics of part of the agricultural region by Kuala Lumpur is a static society' and that by implication the

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(1) Ward, M.W. (1966), op.cit. p.249.
(2) Murphey, R. (1957), op.cit. p.238.

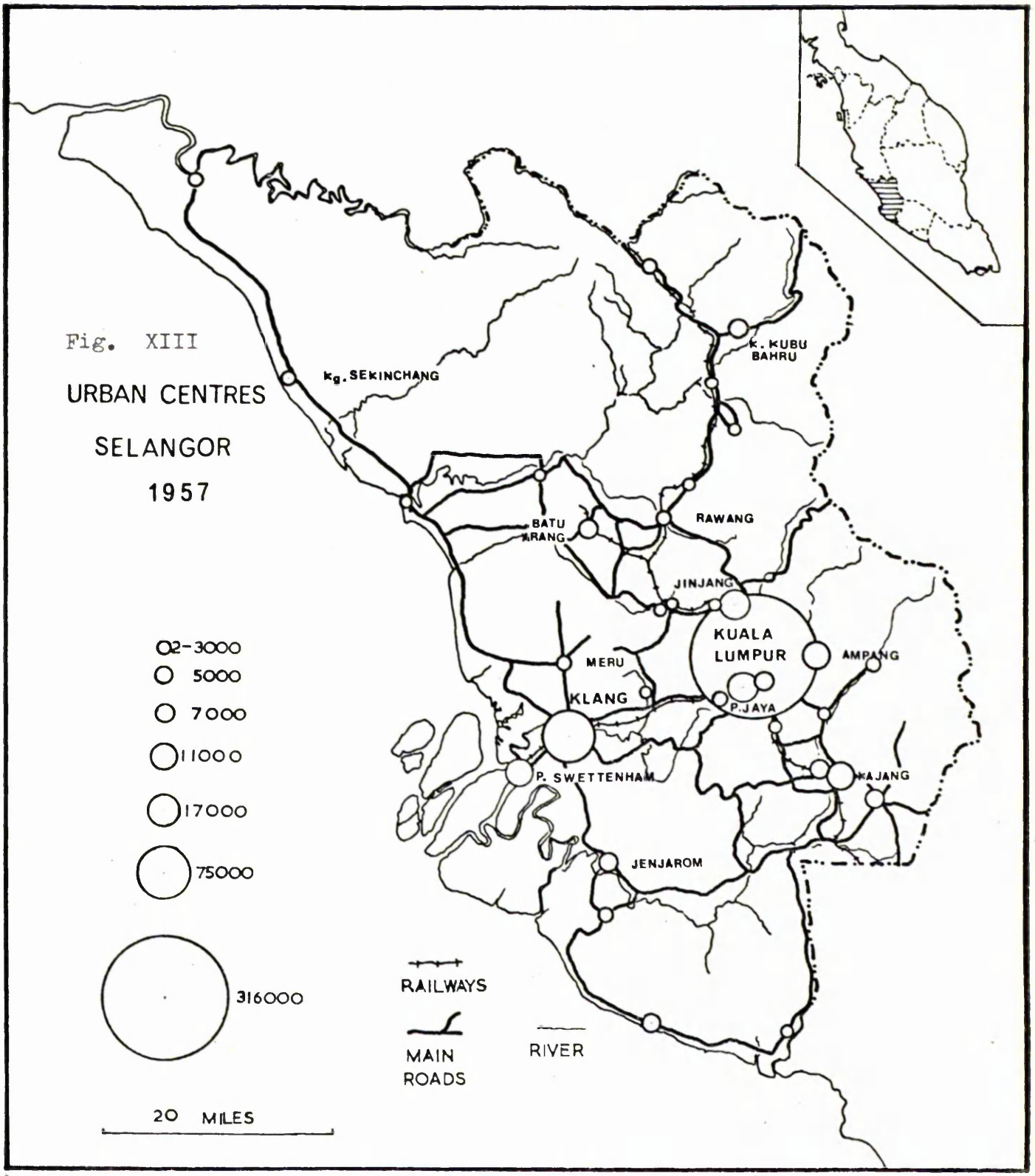

Fig. XIII

URBAN CENTRES

SELANGOR

1957

the inland capital is incapable of dynamic development.[1] Singapore's domination over the inland capital had as its main prop the colonial space-economy; and with de-colonization process and economic reorientation gathering momemtum, the great ocean port need not perpetually tower the urban scene.[2]

The post-war development of Kuala Lumpur--Klang/Swettenham began to swing the centre of gravity to the central Malaya, and a more 'balanced' structure of the urban system had emerged. While the two ocean ports of Singapore and Penang still constituted the key nodes of the spatial system, the interior capital of Kuala Lumpur showed the potential in the long run to assume the role of the central pivotal point of the entire structure. With three of the thirty-six Malayan cities over 10,000 in its metropolitan limit, and the increasing growth of population at its port and space in between the two, the whole area had become the largest zone of population concentration outside Singapore. And with about one-fourth of the country's trade passing through Port Swettenham,

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(1) Tregonning, K.G. (1966), 'Singapore and Kuala Lumpur: A Politico-Geographical Contrast', Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 7, No.2, pp.238-41.

(2) An indication of Singapore's declining domination, was that in 1957, Singapore failed to exercise force of any size over the whole of the peninsula in rural-urban migration, though movement across the causeway was entirely unrestricted. See Fryer, D.W. (1968), 'Megalopolis or Tyrannopolis in Southeast Asia', SEADAG, No.36, p.3.

TABLE 9A

Towns and Villages with Population of 2,000 and over in Selangor

Town or Village	1957	1947	1931	1921	1911
Kuala Lumpur	316,230	175,961	111,418	80,424	46,718
Klang	75,649	35,506	20,913	11,655	7,657
Jinjang	16,685				
Petaling Jaya	16,575	1,584			
Batu Arang		11,543			
Port Swettenham	@	11,300	9,535	4,907	3,071
Ampang	9,741	5,948	2,272	4,459	2,705
Kajang	9,630	7,543	3,619	3,316	2,722
Kuala Kubu	6,651	2,794	5,333	4,658	4,248
Jenjarom	5,785				
Klang Development Area	5,707	3,543			
Kapar	5,637	1,035			
Salak South	5,596				
Semenyih	5,450		1,944	1,022	
Sungei Chua	5,236	2,505	2,527		
Tanjong Sepat	5,051				
Rawang	4,686	3,106	2,881	2,350	1,954
Sekinchang	4,602				
Meru	4,256				
Sungei Way	3,659				
Sabak	3,628	1,608			
Hot Springs	3,622				
Klang Road	3,545				
Kalumpang	3,359				
Ulu Bernam	3,164	1,147			
Banting	3,072	1,221			
Kepong	2,910	1,751	1,831		
Batu Sembilan	2,544				
Ulu Yam Bharu	2,458				
Sungei Buloh	2,423				
Sungei Buloh Leper	2,298				
Kuala Selangor	2,294	1,483	1,387	997	
Rasa	2,238	1,088	1,368		
Sungei Pelek	2,187				
Serendah	2,124	1,544	2,824	2,167	3,466
Batang Berjuntai	2,109				
Subang	2,106				
Sungei Besi			4,976	4,479	2,888
Papan	1,964		1,153	1,285	2,389

Sources: various Census Reports. @: included in Klang's.

the near-monopoly held by Singapore and Penang which functioned as the terminal of the urban system, had been broken. And finally, the development at the capital and its port led to the emergence of the 'high-priority linkage', signifying a more advanced stage of development in the evolution of the urban system.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUBSYSTEMS

On the eastern coast, where the forces of the colonial-immigrant complex were at their weakest, urban development departed from the pattern witnessed in the western half of the country, especially from that of the tin producing states.

The attractive low lands of Kelantan and Trengganu, together with that of Kedah, were areas in the country which had been continuously occupied from the early stage in the southward migration.[1] Maritime trade between China and the east coast of the Malay Peninsula existed since the days of Former Han, reaching its apogee under the Southern Sung Dynasty in the twelfth century.[2] Indeed, the economic predominance of the West coast Malay states dates only from the end of the nineteenth century, largely as a result of British rule. For most of the nineteenth century, the west coast, with the exception of the thriving trading centres in the form of British-controlled ports, was little if at all better off economically than the east coast states.[3]

With the establishment of the British rule, the large scale influx of immigrants and the rapid development of tin and later on, rubber industries, the west coast states forged ahead, leaving behind two of

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.590.
(2) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit.
(3) Skinner, C. (1965), The Civil War in Kelantan in 1839, Singapore, p.2.

the east coast states, Kelantan and Trengganu, while still maintaining the 'Bunga Mas' relationship with Thailand,[1] outside the main stream of the economic development.

The Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, transferring rights of 'suerainty, protection, administration and control' from Siam to Great Britain,[2] ushered in a new era of development in these states. Nevertheless, the relative lack of rich mineral resources, the inaccessibility and geographical isolation which in turn greatly circumscribed the commercial agricultural potencial, have combined to curb their development. The east coast remained, until the railway and the roads afforded it an effective link with the western half of the country, truly 'the further side of silence'. Lacking obvious economic opportunity, the transport development over land failed to stimulate substantial migration from the west coast and it came too late for the immigrants from outside the country, which was restricted when the adverse effect of the depression set in. Thus, the east coast was wrapped up in the traditional character of a peasant economy[3] to a far greater extent than anywhere else in the country.

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(1) The two states were ostensibly under the protection of the Siamese Government, sending bungamas (golden flower) to Bangkok once in three years. The Malay Sultans claimed actual independence from Bangkok, maintaining that the flower was merely a token of alliance and friendship. See Clifford, H. (1897), In Court and Kampong, London, p.13.

(2) Maxwell, W.G. and Gibson, W.S. (1924), Treaties and Engagements affecting the Malay States and Borneo, London, p.88.

(3) See Firth, R. (1946), Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London.

Thus, although it had an early start (a town of some importance existed near Kelantan river estuary at least 400 years ago;[1] in Trengganu, the capital town was estimated to have contained a population between 15,000 to 20,000 in 1856[2]) the pace of urban development had been painfully slow. The externally created urban centres of the west coast in spite of their late beginning, overtook the traditional settlements of the east coast before the turn of the century.

Untouched by the western institutions, infrastructure[3] and the large scale mining-based economic penetration of the immigrants, the east coast developed an urban pattern of its own, different from that seen in the tin-producing states. Conspicuously lacking in its growth of the urban pattern, is the sudden springing up of the mining towns; the rapid growth of the administrative centres, the replacement by the foreign-created centres of the traditional settlements as local or regional centres; the shifting of relative importance of the urban centres as a result of the change of political, resources and transport conditions.

The development on the east coast was characterised by slow pace

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(1) Graham, W.A. (1908), Kelantan, A State of the Malay Peninsula, Glasgow, p.39.
(2) Keane, A.H. (1892), Eastern Geography, p.21.
(3) The only modern innovation, wrote Clifford in 1897, was an occasional 'coaster', or sea tramp, plying its way up the coast to pick up a precarious profit for its owners by carrying cargoes of evil-smelling trade from the fishing villages along the shore, Clifford, H. (1897), op.cit. pp.7-8.

and gradual adjustment in response to local needs, a pattern more akin to that produced by the forces suggested by the Central Place Theory. The racial composition of the urban population in the states of Kelantan and Trengganu, with over 80% Malaysians in 1957 census was unique in a country, where the demography has long been characterised by the urban immigrants and the rural Malays. This demographic characteristics underline the closer urban-rural relationship in these states as against the relative isolation of the colonial-immigrant originated urban centres of the west coast.

The urban development of these states, like the states themselves manifested the character of the 'real Malay', nostalgically preserved throughout the colonial period. To some extent, the urban pattern developed during the early stage in Kelantan and Trengganu could have been the hypothetical model prevailing throughout the peninsula had the country been free from the forces of the colonial-immigrant complex which made the urban system what it is today. As it was, the urban centres of these states, partially insulated from the extraneous influences, formed into localised subsystems by themselves and were only weakly linked to the western half of the country.

The clue to a better understanding of an urban pattern originating from the traditional society, but evolving through the colonial-immigrant period, was to be found in its historical development.

Part I: Kelantan

The early history of Kelantan might have lost in obscurity[1] but there is no doubt as to the existence of Kelantan on an important east-west trade route prior to the emergency of Malacca on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula. Likewise the evidence of Kelantan, together with Trengganu and part of Pahang attaining a high level of civilization as a result of their contacts with the Mon-Khmer lands[2] might be fragmentary, the evidence of the existence of the trading centres on the east coast has not been wanting.

The earliest trade routes, from Europe, Persian Gulf and India went up along the east coast, passing through the straits of Malacca crossing the Gulf of Siam towards Mon-Khmer lands and went further on along the coast north-wards to China.[3] The Chinese were believed to have engaged in maritime trade with Kelantan more than 2,000 years ago.[4] Various Chinese annals and records refer to the ports of Kelantan and Trengganu as early as twelfth century. The Javanese records of the kingdom of Majapahit in the fourteenth century placed not only Kelantan, but also Trengganu, Paka and Dungun on the list of the trading centres.[5]

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(1) Rentse, A. (1947), 'A Historical Note on the North-eastern Malay States', JMBRAS, Vol. XX, Part I, p.24.
(2) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.36.
(3) Rentse, A. (1934), 'History of Kelantan', JMBRAS, Vol. 12, Part II, p.45.
(4) Wheatley, P. (1961), op.cit.
(5) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), 'A Short History of Trengganu', JMBRAS, Vol. 22, Part III, p.2.

While the Indians and Arabs traded and settled on the west coast, the seafaring Khmers and the Chinese were probably regular visitors to the east coast for many centuries before the Malay kingdom of Trengganu, believed to have existed not later than 1386 A.D.[1] Partly due to the influence of the Khmers, the Malays of Trengganu and Kelantan have long developed their exceptional talent as craftsmen.[2] Placed on an established trade route with foreign traders from east and west rubbing shoulders on the land and the local craftsmen capable of producing valued commodities, little wonder that the east coast had been associated with some of the trading centres of the ancient time on the Malay Peninsula.

Gerini, for instance, ventures to identify the ancient town of Koli as the present day Kelantan.[3] This is probably spurred by his belief that Kelantan, a powerful ancient kingdom, with natural resources and mineral wealth in abundance, which placed it in a prominent position among the Malay states, 'must have been from a very ancient period one of the principal resorts of the trade...'[4] Moens suggests that since the present capital, Kota Bharu, is ten kilometer inland on the river estuary, while the previous capital Kota Lama was further upstream, the

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(1) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), 'A Short History of Trengganu', JMBRAS, Vol. 22, Part III, p.2.
(2) Ibid. p.3.
(3) Which is however described as one of the 'wildest etymological guesses'. Rentse, A. (1934), op.cit. p.45.
(4) See Gerini, G.E. (1909), Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, London.

sandy un-wooded coast must have increased and the old Kelantan of the seventh century must be looked for much further upstreams.[1]

Moen's suggestion caused some controvercy.[2] But the fact that Kelantan as a trading centre of importance for thousands of years, with trade routes passing its shores and traders anchoring at the river mouths, has not been disputed. It is also reasonable to assume that Malays from nearby areas and from Palembang, Majapahit and Minangkabau were gradually attracted to settle at the kualas and mixed with the Siamese and Khmers.[3]

Koli might not be the town of Kelantan, but the coast of Kelantan, indeed the entire east coast should not have been short of trading centres. The two ports shown on Ptolemy's map of the Malay Peninsula, Perimoula and Kole, for instance, have been identified with Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman respectively.[4] Whether these identifications are correct or not, the map established the fact that when Ptolemy drew his map--believed to be late in the second century A.D.--the east coast of Malaya already had a port of call for traders travelling between India and the Far East.[5]

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(1) Moen (1940), cited in JMBRAS, Vol. XVII, Part II, p.17.
(2) Rentse thought seventh century Kelantan capital could well be situated close to the shore. Professor Hsu, relying on the Chinese sources, disagreed. See Rentse, A. (1947), 'A Historical Note on the North Eastern Malay States, JMBRAS, Vol. XX, Part I, p.30 and Hsu Yun-Tsiao (1947), 'Notes on Tan Tan', JMBRAS, Vol. XX, Part I, p.48.
(3) Rentse, A. (1934), op.cit. p.55.
(4) Braddell, R. (1936), 'Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula', JMBRAS, Vol. 14, Part III.
(5) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.1.

With that established it is intended to confine our search to the more recent past, although the 'obscurity' of Kelantan history, 'apparently extended well into the nineteenth century'.[1]

Old Centres

Kelantan during the early nineteenth century was probably more populous than Pahang or Trengganu but had rarely been explored by foreigners. A 'city' was known to exist 'close to the sea but several miles from the mouth of the river on which it stands'.[2] The existence and the relative importance of such a town had long been known. Graham wrote of it at the beginning of this century:

> 'There was a town of some importance not far from the mouth of the Kelantan river at least 350 years ago is proved by the fact that the Portuguese and Dutch maps of the sixteenth century all show a capital city there, the name of which is variously given as Calantan, Caltam, and Calantao. Hardly any reference are made to Kelantan in any of the annals of the early European traders in the Far East, though Patani, close by, was for many years one of the great centres of trade of the Portuguese, Dutch and English. It is remarkable also that in the maps of the Malay Peninsula made by Father Placide and by Guendeville at the beginning of the eighteenth century, no town name is shown, while in Roberts' map of 1757 the town re-appears. It is quite possible that during the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the statelet which had the town as its capital had been altogether broken up beneath the sway of Patani or Trengganu, and that it was not until well on in the eighteenth century that it began to emerge once more, owing probably to the weakening of its conqueror'.3

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(1) Skinner, C. (1965), op.cit. p.vii.
(2) Malcolm, H.C. (1839), Travels in Southeast Asia, Vol. II, London, p.122.
(3) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. pp.39-40.

According to Graham, Kubang Labu, a fortified place on the west side of the river opposite the present site of existed about 1780. The raja of Kubang Labu subdued all the chiefs in Kelantan. He later built a new capital on Pulau Saba, an island in the Kelantan river, which had since been entirely washed away by flood. Yet another capital was established at the village of Limbat.[1] As for the town Kota Lama (close to the site of the Residency in Kota Bharu) the old Kelantan folk tales had it that it was built by Long Drahman, the son-in-law of Long Pandak's Laksamana, Long Bahar. Long Pandak was the last of the Rajas of Kubang Labu.[2] Kota Lama was the residence of Long Yunus, the first Ruler of Kelantan of the present dynasty, and his son Long Mamat up to about 1800 A.D.[3]

During the seventeenth century Kelantan was divided up into vassal kingdoms partly under Patani and partly under Trengganu. Kelantan was shown on Linschoten's map of 1623, together with Patani, Batu Pahat and Muar.[4] According to tradition, the Patani King founded the new capital Tabal at the mouth of the Golok River. Other places known to have existed at the time include Kota Tras, Kota Jelasin and Pasir Mas,[5] this last was known to be a stockade during the Trengganu-Kelantan war.

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(1) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. pp.41.
(2) Rentse, A. (1934), op.cit. p.52.
(3) Linehan, W. (1934), 'Coins of Kelantan', JMBRAS, Vol. 12, Part II, p.68.
(4) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), 'A Short History of Trengganu', JMBRAS, Vol. 22, Part III, p.2.
(5) Rentse, A. (1934), op.cit. p.56.

Mining Settlements

Apart from the trading centres, political capitals and military stockades, there were settlements of mining origin peopled by the Chinese.[1]

One of these, Pulai, was situated near the border of Pahang and could only be reached by jungle path. The origin of the settlement is impossible to trace. Middlebrook suggests that it is possible that the original arrivals were looking for gold and drifted in either from China via Kota Bharu or from Perak.[2] The settlement grew into a rich and powerful community during the days of weak Rajas. During the rule of Raja Mahmat, however, a dispute over the monopoly of the sale of rice which the Chinese miners obtained from the rice-boats coming from the river, resulted in the Chinese community being put to the sword.[3] The incident took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The settlement grew again after a few years and was reported to contain a population of seven to eight hundred in 1930s.[4]

There were other traces of Chinese mining besides Pulai, and Rentse believes that the Sokor jungle must have been thickly populated in those days, and local names such as Sungei Ah Hock and Kubang Yah were

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(1) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.102.
(2) Middlesbrook, S.M. (1933), 'Pulai: An Early Chinese Settlement in Kelantan', JMBRAS, Vol. XI, p.152.
(3) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.103.
(4) Middlebrook, S.M. (1933), op.cit. p.153.

given as evidence of the Chinese settlement.[1] A Chinese account also confirms the existence of the mining settlements, Sangor and Galating.

It is difficult to identify the exact locations of Sangor and Galating from the Chinese trans-literation alone, but judging from the direction and days of journey required, it appears that Sungei Songka and Sungei Galas, fit into the description of the areas mentioned, and Pulai lies on the bank of Gala. This account is also interesting in two respects: it reveals the difficulty the Chinese were ready to endure in their search for mines and the division at the early stage among the Chinese immigrants along dialect--ethnic lines with urban/rural and occupational preferences.[2]

In spite of its early beginning, the history of Kelantan remained obscured well until the nineteenth century. Apart from its trading relation with the foreigners from the East and the West, its internal political intrigues, its involvement with Trengganu and the neighbouring

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(1) Rentse, A. (1934), op.cit. p.58.

(2) A widely-travelled Chinese named Hsieh Ching Kao wrote in the late eighteenth century: "Gold is mined at Sangor and Galating. Two days' journey from the town along the river towards the south brings one to a place where there is river which goes to Alosuay(?) in Patani. Sailing southwards for another day one reaches the river Sangor(?). After more than ten days, one comes to Galating (?), which is adjacent to the gold mining area of Pahang, here the river is very rapid and the river bed is rocky and difficult for navigation. A few hundred Chinese come here annually. The Hokkiens live in the town and the Cantonese in the rural areas. Those in the rural areas engage in gold mining, while those in town do business or plant pepper". See Tweedie, M.W.F. (1953), 'An early Chinese account of Kelantan', JMBRAS, Vol. XXVI, part 1, p.216.

kingdoms under the Siamese yoke and Siamese government itself, little else is known which could shed more light on the social and economic conditions of the state. The development of the trading centres and other settlements are largely lost in obscurity.

Kelantan During The Nineteenth Century

Although information of Kelantan was still scanty in the nineteenth century, from what was available it is evident that trading activities had not been lacking, even during the civil war in 1839.

Exports from Kelantan included gold, coffee, silk sarongs and trousers and rice in small quantities. Silk was woven in the country after being imported in a raw state in English ships and Chinese junks. Goods were imported from Europe, Madras and from China, again in small quantities, as there were no big merchants in the country.[1] Abdullah also discovered that the merchants gave credit to their customers and sometimes obtained credits.[2]

Gold-dust, pepper, rattans and hides were exported in considerable quantities,[3] as well as tin.[4] From these and especially Abdullah's accounts, it is clear that in spite of the civil war, Kelantan was still

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(1) Coope, A.E., (1949), The Voyage of Abdullah, Singapore, Ibid. pp.44-5.
(2) Ibid. p.31.
(3) Earl, G.W. (1837), The Eastern Seas, or the Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago, London, p.153.
(4) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.65.

vigorously engaged in trading activities. This is strongly supported by a press report at the time:

> 'Of the several ports on the East Coast of the peninsula frequented by the sampan pukats, Calatan seems at present to be the favourite place of resort. The Raja of that place it appears, had the good sense to patronise a more liberal system of trade than is usually countenanced by his compeers along the Coast, and not to act on the principles of a rigorous monopoly'.1

Abdullah's journey to Kelantan itself is proof of the intense trading activities between the state and Singapore. It was a multi-racial trade mission from Singapore to petition for the release of four Chinese boats and their cargo--merchandise to the value of forty or fifty thousand dollars belonging to some Chinese and Jewish merchants in Singapore. The boats were detained in the Kelantan estuary.[2] Recent research also shows the importance of east coast trade with Singapore especially the speculative trade in opium, which was one of the most profitable ventures undertaken by the Singapore merchants, prompted by the presence of Chinese miners in Kelantan and Pahang.[3]

The trade was in the hands of the Chinese, Indians and the local people themselves. Export and import trades were water borne and Kota Bharu became the main centre for collection and distribution. There

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(1) Singapore Free Press, (12th January 1837).
(2) Coope, A.E. (1949), op.cit., see also Skinner, C. (1965), op.cit. p.14.
(3) Wong, L.K. (1960), 'The Trade of Singapore, 1819-69' JMBRAS, Vol. 33, Pt. 4, pp.79-80.

was talk of establishing a banking agency at the capital at the turn of the century.

Settlements

During the first quarter or so of the last century, Kelantan had had trading ports and fishing settlements along the coast at the estuaries and along the rivers, and a few mining settlements in the interior. In fact, apart from Kota Bharu and Sabak, settlements such as Kota (the old capital south of Kota Bharu), Kampong Laut, Pekan, Tumpat, Lambor, Bachor, Bukit Merah, Pasir Mas had all been mentioned or involved during the civil war in the late 1830s.[1]

Despite comparatively large number of settlements, not much is known of the conditions of the individual centres. This applies even to the capital town. There is no record which shows the exact date of the existence of Kota Bharu. We learn only that Sultan Mulut Merak removed his capital from Pulau Saba to Kota Bharu, 'the new Capital', because of the rapid erosion of the banks of Pulau Saba.[2] When Abdullah visited Kelantan in 1838-9, he saw markets full of women, 'all the stall holders and hawkers were women'. He was told that the market place could have been crowded and full of goods but for the civil war.[3]

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(1) See Skinner, C. (1965), op.cit. p.20-1.
(2) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.48.
(3) Coope, A.E. (1949), op.cit. p.44.

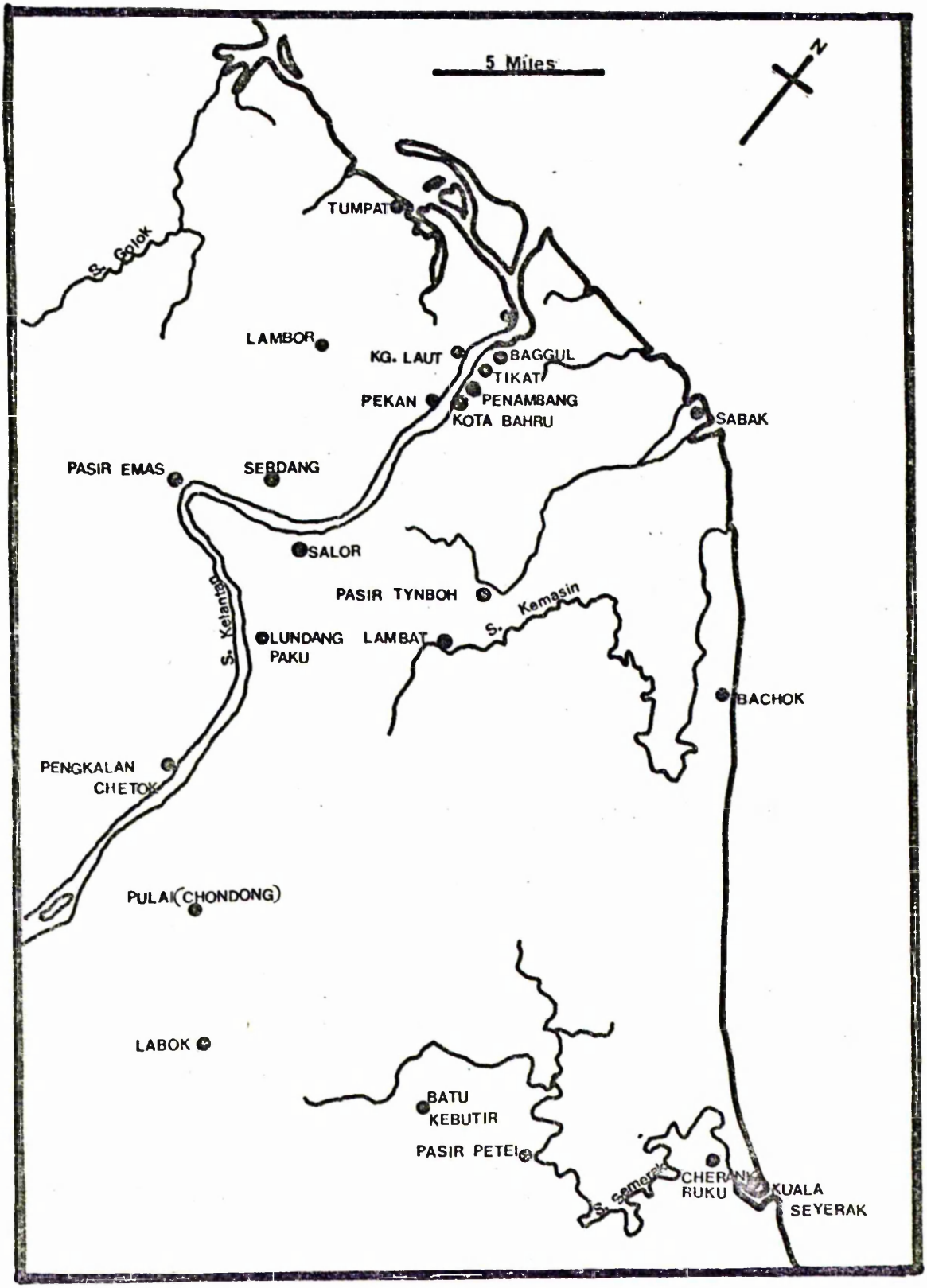

Fig. XIV

KELANTAN IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Towards the end of the last century, however, we learn, in addition, of the palace, the mosque, the markets, the narrow streets and the atap houses and lately the court house and police, but little of other functions or the social conditions of the town.

Of other settlements, information was harder to come by. The existence of kampong China (Chinese quarters) in Kota Bharu and kampong Laut and the abundance of 'ladies of town' accompanied by pimps, do however, provide some glimpses into the settlements, which suggest, among other things, that these settlements had acquired elements other than indigenous and traditional.

Sabak, the old capital now considered as up-country, remained to be a settlement of importance as evidenced by Abdullah's account that hundreds of bullocks, buffaloes and goats were found roaming about the place and tons of prawns and great quantities of fish were produced in the vicinity, while Chinese were seen rearing pigs, cultivating pepper-vines, betel-vines and vegetables.[1]

Communication between settlements depended mainly on waterways. The rivers and their tributaries penetrated into most parts of the interior, which furnished a ready means of communication. Six thousand crafts of various descriptions were registered, some of the small ones were used as market boats. Land transport was poorly developed. The making of roads had not yet progressed far beyond the capital. Tumpat

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(1) Coope, A.E. (1949), op.cit.

and Baggor, eight and four miles respectively from the capital, were the only settlements linked with it by road. Pasir Puteh, thirty miles away, only six miles of the distance being served by road at the turn of the century. Wheel traffic had not arrived, but carts were used in every village to carry the produce of the fields to the market. The capital however, was linked with the outside world by telegraph and telephone, and with the harbour at Tumpat, by steamers.[1]

Kota Bharu And Pulai On The Eve Of British Rule

The overall setting of Kelantan just before the transfer of its sozerainty from Siam to Great Britain, was characteristically agricultural and rural. While there were large number of settlements, with varying sizes, dotted all over the plain and extending far up the main river, there was only one town in the state, the capital Kota Bharu.

Of the important settlements, there were five with population of one thousand or over: Tumpat (population 4,000); Tabar (3,000); Bachok (2,000), Pasir Puteh and Wachap Nau (1,000 each), Semarak (500) and Kampong Laut (population not given).[2] There was a police station, a market and the government headquarters in each of these villages. Wachap Nau was said to be a Chinese settlement. So did Pulai, the only

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(1) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit pp.55-9.
(2) Graham,WW.A. (1908), op.cit.pp.29-30. The sizes of the population were given by Graham, but could not be verified by other sources. In view of the figure given in later census, Graham's figures seem too high to be true.

large village in the far interior with a population of 500. Pulai was the only major settlement in the state which thrived on mining.

Kota Bharu was not only of considerable size, it performed many urban functions. On both accounts it stood in strong contrast to the traditional settlements of the western coast:

> 'The population of Kota Bharu is now close on 10,000 and is increasing, chiefly owing to immigration of Straits Chinese, of Mohammedan Klings, and of Malays from other parts of the Peninsula. The town is well laid out with metalled roads which divide the area into many rectangular blocks. The principal building is the palace of H.H. the Raja, standing in an enclosure of from five to six acres, which opens through a massive old gateway of quaint construction on a turf-covered oval of some two acres in extent, surrounded by a road and by the Court House, the Revenue Office, the Post and Telegraph Office, the School House and the dwellings of some of the nobility. Other buildings are the Palace of H.H. the Raja Muda, the Post Office, the Customs House, and the new market. There is also a small furnished Rest House. The principal streets have paved side walks, are lighted by lamps at night, and swept clean every morning. Thatch, the use of which was universal a short while ago, is giving place to tiles, and a great deal of unsightly but useful corrugated iron is used in the construction of houses. Within the last three years upwards of 150 substantial houses have been built mostly for use as shops. The market is a large and commodious building, is densely thronged every day, and here excellent fish and provisions of all kinds are plentiful and cheap, and beef and mutton are sold twice a week'.1

Revealingly, there was a Chinese quarter separated by a narrow deck, from the main town.[2] The division of the town along racial line

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(1) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. pp.27-8.
(2) Ibid. pp.28-9.

was supported by an early account of Kota Bharu by Waterstradt. Waterstradt's account is interesting in another aspect, namely the coincidence of functional specialization and physical/racial division:

> 'The town consists really of two villages: one of them called Taratchin, is divided from the other by a branch of the river, and is chiefly inhabited by Chinese. Formerly nearly all the business was done in the place, but the ever changing river silted up just there, and now nearly all business is transacted in the native town, a little further up the river, where there is deep water close to the bank'.1

Some of the salient features of the settlement and urban development of the state, if the trend in Kota Bharu was any indicator, was discernible. The domination of Kota Bharu over the rest of the settlements was more real than apparent, as evidenced by the population differentials, and other paraphernalia of urban functions. There were for example, three mosques in and near the capital,[2] elsewhere there was normally one. The Central Court was in Kota Bharu while three 'Courts of small causes' were located in different parts of the state.[3] The first government school was started at the capital in 1904, where there was a good demand for education among the townfolks. But little or none was shown by the country folk, where the government schools had not yet been tried.[4] Weaving was confined chiefly to the capital, where

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(1) Waterstradt, J. (1902), 'Kelantan and my trip to Gunong Tahan', JSBRAS, No. 37, pp.1-2.
(2) Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.31.
(3) Ibid. p.110.
(4) Ibid. pp.116-7.

in almost every house there were one or more looms,[1] mats were weaved in the southern part of the state but the demand was great in Kota Bharu market.[2] Medical service and sports facilities were better provided for in the capital.[3] The concentration of political power in the capital was more than obvious.[4]

The second element worth nothing is the addition of the modern governmental functions to the traditional seat of old political structure.[5] This is more remarkable if one remembers that the post office, the court house, the revenue office, public works etc. came into existence before the state was brought into the British custody. The third element of significance was the commercialization of the settlement as borne out by the building of substantial houses for use as shops. This signifies a gradual change of character of the settlement breaking out from its predominently 'agro' disposition.

Waterstradt's journey also took him to Pulai, the old Chinese mining settlement some one hundred miles away in the interior. It is interesting to note the change of the nature of the settlement:

> 'The village contains a couple of hundred inhabitants, nearly all Chinese, there being only a few Malay traders there, who occasionally come up from Kota Bharu and stay

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(1) Ibid. p.65.
(2) Ibid. p.68.
(3) Ibid. p.115 & p.123.
(4) Chan Su-Ming (1965), 'Kelantan and Trengganu, 1909-1939', JMBRAS, Vol. 38, p.160.
(5) Graham, W.A. (1909-11), 'Kelantan', The Encyclopaedia Brittanica (eleventh edition), p.485.

> there a month or two, until they have bartered all their goods away for gold. Formerly all the Chinese living there were gold miners, but now that all the gold-bearing sand in the river bed has been washed over and over again and the returns are getting less, many of them have settled down as agriculturists and have large paddy fields all round the village. Formerly there must have been a much larger Chinese population in these parts, as traces of very large alluvial workings are found up nearly all the small creeks, being one overgrown and covered with dense jungle. At present there are only a couple of Chinese Kongsis working anything like a large scalem and I believe they are doing fairly well'.1

The scene here forms a strong contrast to that prevailing on the west coast. The gold mines here were not as abundant as the tin mines in the west nor were they as lasting; the isolation and the distance of the mines from the coastal settlements, restricted the physical mobility of their inhabitants. The mushrooming of the mining settlements could not have taken place here and the mining population could not be easily absorbed by the mainly agricultural settlements on the coast, the logical development under these circumstances was obvious: the transformation of the declining mining settlement into one of agricultural in the same locality where land for cultivation is available.

Physical Improvement Of 1910s

The transfer from the Siamese 'all rights of suzerainty, protection and administration and control' over Kelantan and Trengganu to the

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(1) Ibid. p.9.

British Government in 1909, marked a new era in the development in both states. In Kelantan the period after the transfer and up till the Second World War, was hailed as one of 'construction', gearing 'towards a modern state'.[1]

Urban development of the state was stimulated, but was mainly confined to physical improvement. One of the institutions found after the transfer was the conservancy Board. With the establishment (in 1912) of the Board which dealt with scavenging, lighting, sanitation and drainage etc., many of the powers and duties of a municipality came into operation,[2] marking the beginning of urban control. When the duties of the Board were extended to the collection of market and shops taxes outside Kota Bharu, and the issuing of licences for dentists barbers and dhobies,[3] planned development of sort was effected, although town planning on a state scale was still a long way off.

Development was not confined to the capital. In Pasir Puteh for instance, roads were built, residential quarters of the District Officer and his administrative staff, a market, court house, school etc., were constructed within a few years after the beginning of the new regime.[4] In 1920, 303 town lots in the state were surveyed, which included town

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(1) See Chan Su-Ming (1965), 'Kelantan and Trengganu, 1909-1939', JMBRAS, Vol. 38, Part I, pp.167-81.
(2) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1912, p.3.
(3) Annual Reports,Kelantan, 1915, p.2 and 1918, p.8.
(4) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1913, p.3.

lots in Kuala Krai, Kuala Nal station, Tumpat, Sabak and Kg. China. In addition part of the Pasir Puteh-Temangan Road were demarcated and the survey of the railway reserved from Pasir Mas to Rantau Panjang and from Tanah Merah to Temangan was completed.[1]

Transport difficulty had always been a major problem in the state and the urban development urgently awaited the linking up of the centres. The need for road development was realised as evidenced by the fact that in spite of the modest economic progress and debit balances associated with an early state of development, the expenditure of roads construction remained outstanding.[2]

The domination of the large centres especially Kota Bharu was reflected in the construction of the public buildings. In the year 1920, small settlements such as Pulai, Bukit Yong, Kalai were provided with the more elemental structure like police station; while the larger ones like Tabal, Tumpat, or Bachok were blessed with the provision of the custom buildings or the officer's quarters; Kuala Krai was allocated clerk's quarters, native hospital and a rest house. On top of the hierarchy was Kota Bharu where barracks, living quarters for various officers store, stable for hospital, European hospital, ecclesiastical court etc. were added to the wide range of the existing urban structures.[3]

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(1) Thompson, H.W. (1921), Kelantan Administration Report, 1920, Kuala Lumpur, p.8.
(2) Ibid. pp.8-9.
(3) Thompson, H.W. (1921), op.cit. pp.8-9.

Apart from the domination of Kota Bharu in its urban development, Kelantan, indeed the entire east coast displayed an urban distribution pattern distinctively different from that on the west coast. West of the central range, tin and later rubber based economy attracted the urban centres to the interior while on the east coast, the fishing and agricultural economy confined the settlements to the coastal plain and in the case of Kelantan, to the Kelantan Delta. Also, the comparatively 'closed' nature of its economy was more conducive to the development of the central places; in fact the Kelantan delta was the rare locality in Malaya where central place distribution seems to develop to an advanced stage. Again the coastal ports on the west coast was short-lived, and they were soon over-taken by the interior mining centres; on the east coast, coastal and riverine settlements had not been challenged by any interior centre. The new economic order imposed by the colonial administration strenghtened rather than weakened their position.

A decade after the new regime, the traditional picture of coastal domination and indeed the relative importance of the settlements remained basically unchanged.[1] Thus, the first decade of the colonial rule,

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(1) This is reflected in the number of schools as well as the post revenue recorded for various districts.

District	School			Post & Telegraph Revenue		
	Vern	Engl.	Majl.	1919	1920	1921
Kota Bharu	9	1	1	$35,232	$44,004	$42,448
Pasir Puteh	5		1	2,039	3,326	4,616
Ulu Kelantan	4		1	6,883	8,697	8,031

Ibid. p.10.

which in the west initiated the urban development, had less effecf on the east coast. Apart from the physical improvement of the urban centres, urban development in terms of the increase of the number of centres and their population size had been far from obvious. In fact in both Kota Bharu and Kuala Trengganu the population fell from 12,548 to 10,833 and from 14,013 to 12,453, respectively. The causes of the fall (more than 13% and 11% respectively) had not been clear.[1] The proportion of the urban population by different races does however, indicate a tendency which seems to suggest adverse consquences as regards the urban development on the east coast.

The decrease of the Malay urban population had not been sufficiently compensated by the increase of the Chinese and the Indians immigrants. The colonial administration had not been followed by economic penetration which required among other things an urban base. Meanwhile the Malay urban population, perhaps fearful of the influx of immigrants which did not take place, began to seek alternatives elsewhere. The 'pull' factor of the urban living seemed even less attractive to the Malay rural dwellers at this juncture. The slow economic development, the delay in the railway construction denied the state the much needed external impetus for its urban growth, while the administrative functions which contributed considerably to the growth of urban centres on the west coast, were weak in stimulating urban process as a result of the

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(1) Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. p.40.

financial difficulty. The Duff problem[1] had in fact pushed the state further in debts. Under such circumstances the administration, though keen in bringing into its structure the indigenous elements, was unable to recruit the local staff large enough to swell the urban population.

Remarkable Growth Of The 1920s

The first decade of the 'period of construction' therefore, did not witness substantial growth of the urban centres in terms of size and number. And although the Chinese and Indians had began their peaceful 'penetration' into the state, the towns were essentially 'Malay' in character.[2] However, with accelerated pace of economic development during the second half of the twenties, the urban centres underwent a remarkable growth between the 1921 and 1931 censuses. Greater efforts were focussed on the towns. In 1928 alone 407 towns lots were surveyed and another 259 the following year. Telegraph service were extended to more centres. Outside Kota Bharu, towns like Tumpat, Kuala Krai, Pasir Puteh, Pasir Mas could also boast of telephone exchange.[3] The big jump

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(1) The Duff Development Company Concession's demand of 'imperium in imperio' status contributed to the delay of railway construction. The Company also sued the state Government for breach of contract and was granted huge sum from the Government.

(2) Nathan discovers that 'Kota Bharu and Trengganu are the only towns in British Malaya which resemble the larger towns in Java, in that the buildings are of Malay type, and the greater part of the local trade is in Malay hands'. See Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. p.43.

(3) Annual Reports, Kelantan, 1928 and 1929.

in the returns of land tenure, expenditure and revenue in general between the year 1925 and 1926 underlied the rapid economic development[1] in the state, which provided the base for the urban growth.

The number of towns in the state with population over 1,000 increased from one in 1911 to two in 1921 and to five in 1931. The growth of individual towns between 1921 and 1931 too was more impressive than the previous decade. (See Tables 10 and 11) The development was made more impressive by the fact that there were two factors working against its odds : the Depression of thirties was fast approaching and the unprecedented flood and the fire which took place in 1927. The flood dealt a serious blow to some part of the country. Kelantan river rose to seventy feet above normal level at Kuala Krai and to the south of it. Railway construction camps, estate buildings, river-side villages and cultivation and some 1,700 houses were swept away and railway, roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines suffered severely.[2] The flood was followed by a fire which destroyed some 275 houses in the western area of Kota Bharu and caused a temporary house shortage.[3]

(1)

	Expenditure	Revenue	Land Revenue(by Distr.)		
Year	Kelantan State		Kota Bharu	Ulu Kel	P. Puteh
1925	$1,401,961	$1,804,180	$221,853	$71,832	$ 79,324
1926	1,927,134	2,371,595	280,870	95,720	105,407

(2) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1927, p.3.
(3) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1927, p.3.

TABLE 10

Proportion of Urban to Total Population

Year	Total Population	Urban Population	Proportion of Urban to Total Population
1921	309,300	13,239	4.2
1931	362,517	23,459	6.5

TABLE 11

Proportion of Individual Race to the Total Urban Population

Year	Malays	Chinese	Indians
1911	88.2%	9.0%	2.1%
1921	78.9	15.0	4.8
1931	69.3	22.8	5.9

Sources: Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. and Vlieland, C.A. (1932) British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 and Certain Problems of Vital Statistics, London.

Development Of 1930s

Practically self-supporting in food-stuffs and comparatively less dependent on rubber, Kelantan not only escaped the severe effects of the Depressions, but managed to develop more rapidly during the thirties than the previous two decades. The opening up of the trunk road from Kota Bharu to Trengganu provided a closer link on the coast but the real breaking out of the physical isolation came with the completion of

the Eastern Railway which brought the state within reach of the development process of the country as a whole.[1] A two-way traffic was put into effect in which 'the Kelantan Malay has found in Singapore a ready market for his surplus livestock, rubber, and their agricultural produce'[2] and the state was opened to the innovation diffusion originated from the western half of the country.

Although the much-hoped for mineral exploitation did not follow the opening of the railway, internal trade, and trade between the state and the western and southern states including Singapore were given new impetus. The establishment of bank branch and company agency in the centres of Kelantan was the direct result of the railway link.[3] It was only with the establishment of this link that the urban centres of Kelantan could be said to be brought into the structure of the national urban system, though the initial functional inter-relation was negligible.

Kelantan survived the economic difficulties of the first few years of the Depression, and emerged 'a modern state' through a period of social revolution.[4] Education expansion was among the most striking.

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(1) Although a branch line from Pasir Mas to Sungei Golok was built as early as 1920, the branch line linked Pasir Mas to Thailand rather than the main railway system of the country. The East Coast line therefore was the first effective transport link which brought Kelantan out of its physical isolation.
(2) Annual Reports, Kelantan, 1935, p.70.
(3) Wright and Reid, The Malay Peninsula, p.173. Cited in Chan Su-Ming, (1965), op.cit. p.179.
(4) Chu Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.179.

The atmosphere of distrust and apathy towards education was still common in the mid-twenties; in 1936 that the villagers in many cases were helping with work and materials in building schools.[1] Medical service were extended very considerably with hospitals provided for in all the main centres. Out-door and travelling dispensaries were widely provided and 'placed at convenient centres of population, more particularly at places where there were well frequented markets.[2]

Apart from these social services which helped attract more population to the urban centres, the expansion of the administrative functions, industry and commerce did even more to bring about physical development and functional modernization in the centres. The increase and extension of governmental departments required a large army of trained administrative officers, subordinates and clerical staffs. This newly created class of personnels was urban product and in turn made more demand on urban amenities. The effect on the urban centres, especially in the administrative headquarters was enormous.

The increase of modern manufacturing and mining and tertiary industries was reflected by the number of labourers employed (estates, mines and factories). A steady increase was sustained up till 1937. (See Table 12). The number of workers employed by the commercial

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(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1936, p.42.
(2) Colonial Annual Reports: State of Kelantan for 1938, London, 1939, p.10.

TABLE 12

Increase of Civil Servants and Workers

Year	Labourers employed by 10 Govt. Depts.	Estates Mines and Factories Workers
1934	1,320	5,433
1935	2,193	5,833
1936	1,883	7,020
1937	1,683	7,998
1938	1,940	7,247

Sourdes: Annual Report, Kelantan, 1938, pp.44-5.

firms and the self-employed were not available, but it is reasonable to assume that they too were on the increase as trade and commerce expanded rapidly.

So, the administration, the industry and commerce all seem to produce or attract increased number of population to the centres during the thirties.

The increase of urban population and the complexity of the multifarious duties in the centres (an index of the urban growth) were reflected in the municipal administration. The Conservancy Board, which came into operation in 1912, was split into two bodies, the Municipal and Health Department and the Town Advisory Board.[1] By 1938,

(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1932, p.33.

the Town Advisory Board was replaced by a full-fledged Town Board with the usual powers held by Town Boards throughout Malaya.[1] This progress implies not only the impact of the innovation waves from the western coast but more importantly, a further integration of the urban centres in Kelantan into the urban system of the country.

In addition to increase in population size, the urban development in Kelantan during the thirties was significant in two aspects: the functional growth and spatial connectivity, at state and national levels.

Functional Growth

The internal growth of the urban centres was reflected in many ways. Post offices and postal agencies for instance were in 1933 extended to more places. Kota Bharu, Tumpat, Kuala Krai, Pasir Puteh and Temangan and Pasir Mas, all had a post office and while the first three towns had a telephone exchange, new ones were ready for Bachok and Pasir Puteh, while Gual Periok, Tabai and Sungei Nal were served by postal agencies,[2] which were increased to fourteen in small villages two years later.[3] In modern centres elsewhere services of this nature are perhaps taken for granted, in Kalantan their significance as important central functions cannot be over-emphasized. The post offices,

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(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1938, p.18.
(2) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1933.
(3) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1935.

in addition to postal services provided functions normally carried out by the bank, and at times, like those in Kota Bharu, by insurance company.[1]

Provision and the improvement of sewage disposal, refuse disposal, water and electricity supply and other sanitation and health measures were widespread. Kuala Krai, Pasir Mas, Tumpat and Pasir Puteh all received a fair share of improvement. In Kota Bharu, modern scheme was considered. Further improvement of the health services was evidenced by the establishment of the specialized centres. Apart from the 280-bed general hospital, Kota Bharu boasted of an Europen hospital for mental disease and one for isolation cases. Kuala Krai, Tumpat, Pasir Puteh, Pasir Mas, Bachok andGua Masang too benefited from latest development in health service.[2]

Nowhere was the growth and development of towns reflected more acutely than in the demand of housing, both commercial and residential. The former was for the traders and merchants and the latter, the traders and the local government servants. The fact that the new commercial area of the new town had to be 'excised from the Malay Reservation' and the rise in land values which had gone beyond the real commercial value of the land,[3] shows clearly the extent to, and the speed with, which the urban area was developed.

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(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1933.
(2) Ibid. p.9.
(3) Ibid. p.18.

Interesting and revealing too was the fact that

> 'Houses in the towns are, for the most part, either two storeyed wooden or brick shop-houses with living accommodation on the upper storey, constructed and occupied by Chinese and Indian merchants, or the Malay dwelling house type. This latter may be as elementary as the country peasant's dwelling, or a substantial two-storeyed wooden building standing in its own grounds'.1

The dominant feature of shop-house which was alien to the traditional settlement points to the encroachment of the colonial-immigrant complex on the urban scene and the gradual shaking off of the 'agro' character of the townships. But the juxta-position of the shop-house and the Malay dwelling-house also indicates the entrenched position of the traditional elements which is conspicuously lacking on the urban centres in the western states.

The traditional position was strenghtened by the Advisory System which advocated incorporation of the indigenous elements into the political structure under which, most of the government servants were recruited from the Malay inhabitants of the state who 'in the towns in many cases possess their own houses'.[2] Relatively secured in their position in the competitive towns, they resisted the commercial intrusion into the urban area. But not for long. The Land office in towns had been under

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(1) Similar descriptions were given in the Annual Reports throughout the thirties.

(2) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1938, p.18.

pressure to work on schemes for land acquisition and re-distribution. And the trend was for the government to provide living quarters for its servants outside the congested area.

This had led to a somehow dichotomous development whereby new large numbers of permanent stone and brick shop-houses were erected; while in the old town area where development was not only slow, and as the land-holder tended to utilise 'every square foot for building purposes', a certain amount of over-crowding was inevitable.[1]

Development was not confined to the large towns or the new immigrant-dominated commercial areas, although they inevitably fared better.[2] Town sites were marked out for instance in lesser centres at Gua Musang and Pasir Tamloh,[3] while area of derelict shop-houses and narrow lots were bought up and re-surveyed by the government for the purpose of erecting modest class shops to be let to the smaller Malay merchants.[4]

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(1) Annual Report , Kelantan, 1932, p.11. The situation was remedied by the Town Advisory Boards and later, the Town Boards which put into effect the progressive layout of the main town and prevented houses built or altered without approval and scrutiny from the authorities. Some of the layouts went further in demolishing the unsightly and insanitary buildings facing the roads. In Kota Bharu several new roads were opened up and narrow ones widened to provide two-way traffics. However, there was still complaints about too many derelict kampong type Malay houses in the town board area. See Annual Report , Kelantan, 1932, p.11 and Annual Report , Kelantan, p.14.

(2) Kota Bharu alone developed 338 coffee shops and licensed premises. See Annual Report , Kelantan, 1937, p.15.

(3) Annual Report , Kelantan, 1932, p.51.

(4) Annual Report , Kelantan, 1937, p.18.

The effort directed towards urban development during the second half of the thirties was summed up in the following table (Table 13) which shows both the increase of the revenue and expenditure in items relevant to town and municipal areas. Although there was a drop under the heading of Municipal, there were increases under this heading on automobile licenses and conservancy, which, if taken together with the increase in expenditure on roads, streets, and bridges (a good part of these was spent within the urban areas.[1]) indicate substantial attention paid to the urban centres.

TABLE 13

Selected Items of Revenue

Year	Fees of Office etc.	Municipal	Revenue on Undertakings of Commercial Character
1935	$ 92,298	$172,296	
1936	108,492	137,632	$68,502
1937	124,009	153,002	84,305
1938	101,324	163,968	98,546

Source; Annual Reports, Kelantan, 1938, p.80.

Spatial Link

External connectivity among and between the towns as well as other states was enhanced by the roads and railway. The traditional means

(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1938, p.85.

of communication by rivers remained popular between places not connected by rail or road. But it was the rail/road network which provided a new dimension to the linkage, creating a subsystem of centres at regional level and a meaningful connection with the urban system at national level. The road system, totalling 291 miles (in 1938) was elaborate and adequate in the northern-eastern area of the state. Kuala Krai, the headquarters of Ulu Kelantan district, forty-three miles south of the capital, and Pasir Puteh near the Trengganu border, were all linked to the road system. Although the link with the F.M.S. was by railway, Trengganu and Siam were within reach by roads. Apart from providing a major link for the state with the F.M.S., Siam and Singapore, the railway also connects the chief port, Tumpat, the capital Kota Bharu (by ferry), two district headquarters, Pasir Mas and Kuala Krai, local centres Temagan, Kemubu, Gua Musang and Rantau Panjang (through its branch), a series of lesser centres and important kampongs. The ports of Tumpat, Bachok and Semerak provided facilities for coasting streamers plying regularly between Singapore and Bangkok except during the northeast monsoon. In 1938, regular air service for mail, passengers and freight between Kota Bharu and Penang was contemplated, which was to bring the state into the efficient air services network already in operation on the west coast of the country.

The long-isolated, partly densely populated state of Kelantan was by now gradually brought into the main stream of development under the

colonial economic order. Although its almost self-sufficient food supply and peasant economy which supported an over-whelmingly indigenous population, protected it from the economic and social penetration of foreign origins, Kelantan could not but succumbed to the colonial-immigrant influence. The native customs and institutions which the Advisory System proclaimed to protect, might remain ostensibly intact, the imposition of the new infrastructure introduced a visible re-adjustment and re-orientation into the traditional society.

The vicissitudes of the cottage industries was but one indication of the increasing encroachment of the colonial economy. The 1936 Annual Report admits that there was no weaving in the entire coastal district of Bachok. In a fishing village near Kota Bharu weaving ceased so recently that looms were still stored under some of the houses. The competition of cheap imported cloth was too/indeed great.[1] We may recall that only in 1911 Mason had reported that in Kota Bharu almost every house possesses a loom at which the daughters of the house worked.[2]

The urban centres first became the focus, and then the vehicle, of this process of re-adjustment and re-orientation. Internally, the urban centres not only grew in size but also incorporated new elements which contributed in making their character. The agro-market town with a homogenous population was giving way to agro-commercial-administrative centre accommodating an increased heterogeneous racial components. Externally, the sometimes accidental and unco-ordinated development

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(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1936, p.33.
(2) Cited by Graham, W.A. (1908), op.cit. p.65.

was gradually replaced by a more integrated and synchronized growth.

The development of railway and road transport [illegible] forged a closer contact between the centres within the state, and re-oriented to some extent the structual link of the centres from the neighbouring Siam and Trengganu to southwestern states of the country. In short, the urban centres of the state began to form an integral part of the national urban system. It should be pointed out that the traditional Malay element of the town, which marked if off from the towns in the western states, was by no means lost:

> 'In Kota Bharu, in addition to the large central market, a new one was built in the locality of Kubang Pasu. The produce sold is bought in by the Malay land-owners themselves. They walk in for many miles and they carry heavy loads. In the morning a large number of them may be met coming to Kota Bharu, in some instances from ten miles distance...'1

Changes After World War II

The Second World War put an end to a promising urban process freshly integrated to the main stream of the development centred on the western states. Apart from the military occupation and its concomitant economic stagnation, 200 miles of the East Coast line from Mentakab (Pahang) to Kuala Krai were removed for the construction of the Burma-Siam railway. The line was not restored till 1953. The only

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(1) Annual Report, Kelantan, 1938, p.82.

effective link between the state and the western half of the country was thus cut off. As the state was tuned to the link with the more developed west and the urban centres re-oriented to increased integration, the rupture dealt a heavier blow to its development than the neighbouring state of Trengganu, which did not enjoy direct railway connection.

The setbacks were revealled by the 1947 census. The proportion of urban to total population in the Federation of Malaya reached a record high of 26.5%. Kelantan returned a figure of 7.85%, the lowest among the states. The situation was made more conspicuous by the increase of the adjacent Trengganu, whose proportion of urban to total population jumped from 1931's 12.4% to 23.5% in 1947,[1] making it as urbanised, relatively, as Negri Sembilan, and Johore. Kelantan in the meantime ranked with Perlis, Kedah and Pahang as predominantly rural.[2]

Some of the individual towns, however, seem to make substantial headway, although urban settlements besides Kota Bharu were scarcely more than villages. Dobby's description of the state capital gives a fair picture of the urban scene at the beginning of the fifties.

> 'Kota Bharu, though it is the administrative capital, is still a small, open country town, its fringe intermingling with the padi fields that come within a few years of its centre. There are only about a dozen blocks of brick

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(1) Del Tufo, M.V. (1949), A Report on the 1947 Census of Population Malaya and the Colony of Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, pp.43-4.
(2) Ibid. p.45.

> building; most of residence are of wood and stone behind split-bamboo fence among a few fruit trees, much like those in the rural districts...'[1]

It was also the one large consuming centre of the state, the focus of a few artisans and traders, and where the Chinese formed the shopkeeping and trading community without altering the town's overwhelming Malay majority.[2] Other centres, by far smaller than the capital, did not fare so well. The main port, Tumpat, for instance remained small, unconspicuous in spite of the fact that owing to the interruption of the railway, one would expect it to benefit from the increased sea-borne traffic. Kota Bharu in fact had an increase of population as high as 53.4% while Tumpat's increase was no less than 25.3%.

Malay Urbanization

The fifties witnessed an astonishing urban growth in the country. In the western states, the phenomenal growth was partly due to Resettlement scheme as a result of the Emergency in the country. In Kelantan, however, the Resettlement Scheme was not the immediate cause. The concentration of administrative functions and economic activities in the urban areas had increased considerably in the wake of imminent political independence of the country and the restoration of the railway

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(1) Dobby, E.H.G. (1951), 'The Kelantan Delta', The Geographical Review, Vol. 41, pp.249-50.
(2) Ibid. p.251.

link with the main line. The proportion of urban to total population rose from 7.9% in 1947 to an impressive 22.7% in 1957. More impressive is the fact that Malay urbanization rather than Chinese urbanization constituted the outstanding feature of the recent development. The trend was exemplified by the change of racial composition of urban population in the state.

TABLE 14

Racial Composition of Urban Population

Kelantan 1931 - 1957

Year	Malaysians	Chinese	Indians
1931	69.3	22.8	5.9
1947	66.2	27.5	4.7
1957	80.1	16.8	2.1

Source: Fell, H. (1960), Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No. 14, Kuala Lumpur, p.6.

On the eve of political independence of the country, urban development in Kelantan owed its strength to political and economic development rather than the military situation. It was brought back into the main stream of the urban system, injecting into it a new dimension of the development--Malay urbanization. Unlike towns in the western states, all the major towns with a population of 1,000

or over, had a majority of Malay inhabitants. (Table 14) This new element of urban development was to loom larger and larger with the achievement independence.

TABLE 15

Population of Towns by Race, Kelantan 1947-57

Town	Total Pop.		Malays@		Chinese		Indians	
	1947	1957	1947	1957	1947	1957	1947	1957
Kota Bharu	22,765	38,103	14,422	25,368	6,863	11,011	980	1,228
Tumpat	4,335	8,946	3,146	7,544	828	916	278	351
Pasir Mas	3,051	7,858	2,201	6,781	578	918	217	113
Kuala Krai	2,326	3,858	1,114	1,921	1,031	1,501	136	364
Pasir Puteh	1,688	2,186	1,290	1,650	353	496	24	30
Cherang Ruku (K. Semerak)	1,045	1,777	994	1,687	40	83	7	3

Sources: Census Reports 1947 & 1957.
@: Other Malaysians excluded.

The new element added to the urban system an essential component in providing the missing link. The urban system was created by the colonial-immigrant complex and largely served the political and economic functions of the complex. It did not truly reflect the nature of the plural society nor the existence of the 'dual economy'. The traditional society was largely by-passed by the system and the traditional economic fabric was only peripheral to the functioning of the system, which had as its base the colonial seaports, the mining and administrative

centres in the tin-producing states and the transport centres in the rubber belt. The traditional settlements and the seats of old political power survived only if they were so located as to form part of the spatial structure. The integration of the urban centres on the east coast into the urban system thus did more than extending the spatial extent of the system: the traditional elements of the society and the indigenous peasant economy were fused into its structure, and the 'wholeness' of the system was enhanced.

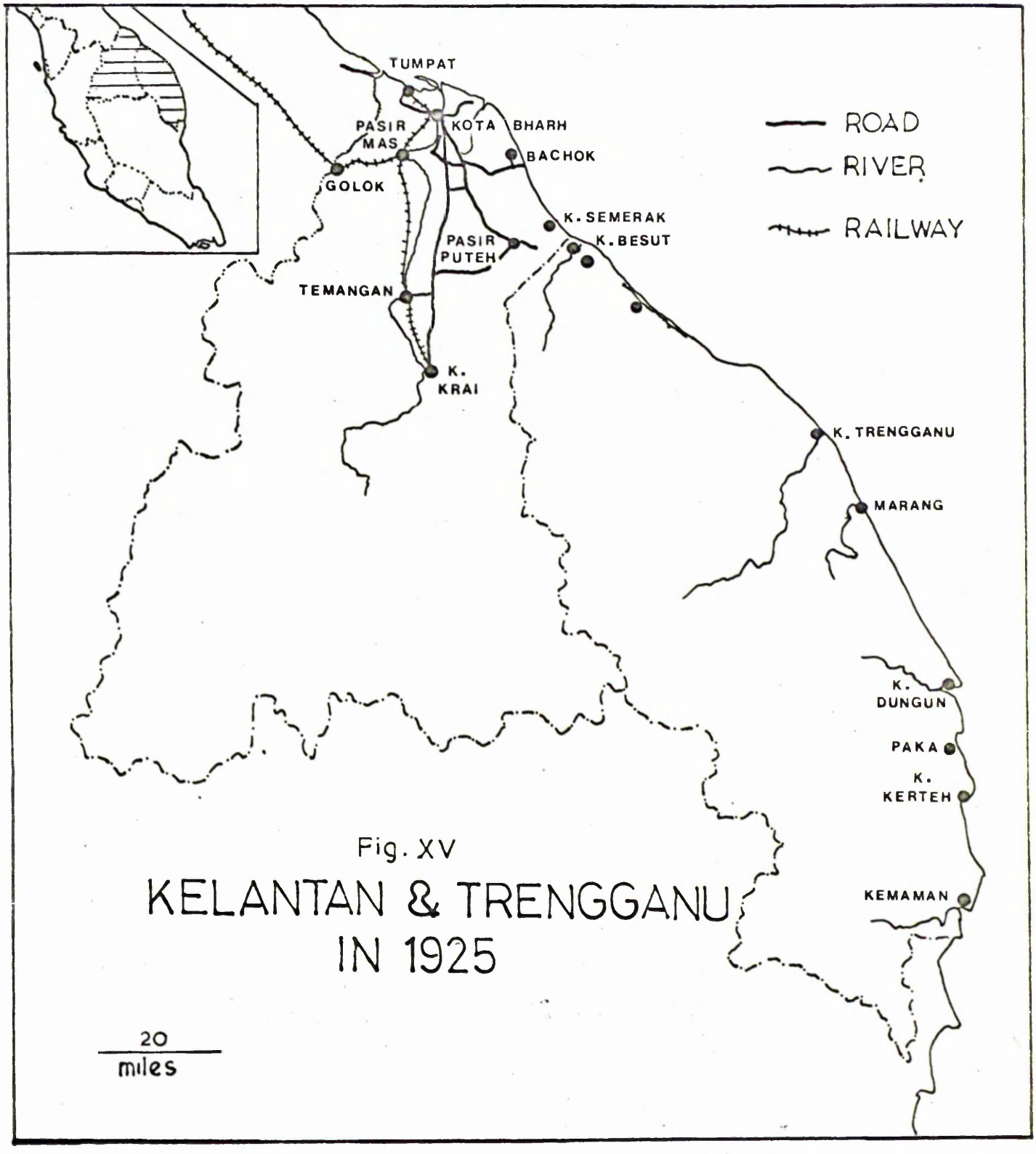

Fig. XV

KELANTAN & TRENGGANU IN 1925

Part II: Trengganu

Trengganu passed its early history along side Kelantan which need not be repeated here. Of later development, it is worth emphasizing that a Malay kingdom in Trengganu (probably Buddhist)[1] existed before the Sri Vijaya empire shifted its capital to Sumatra in the eighth century.[2] The Mohammendan ruler of Trengganu, the Telanai, was believed to have exercised independent authority over a river kingdom based on Kuala Trengganu with a second stronghold at Kuala Berang.[3] The fourteenth century records of the Majapahit empire listed Trengganu, Paka and Dungun as trading centres. A well established community of considerable size had probably existed when the Javanese penetrated the east coast of the Malay peninsula.[4]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Trengganu escaped the assaults by the Portuguese and the Achinese and became a popular refuge for the fugitives from the Malay states in the south. It managed to stay aloof from the Malay politics in the early part of the eighteenth century.

The Old Settlements

Traditional settlements in the state originated chiefly from the

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(1) Trengganu converted to Islam earlier than Malacca by virtue of its being placed on an established trade route used by the Arab missionary traders.
(2) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.4.
(3) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.5.
(4) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.4.

choice of the rulers and the local chiefs. The first Sultan of Trengganu, Tun Zainal Abidin, settled in a kampong which to this day is named Kampong Patani. And when he was installed he settled some twenty miles inland near Kuala Berang, from the Trengganu river mouth. Later on he moved towards the coast and eventually built 'Kota Lama', a fort on Bukit Kledang.[1] The settlement of Kuala Trengganu must be of considerable size, for twenty-nine ships from Palembang were said to be anchored in the river mouth around the mid-eighteenth century. Pulau Kapas (off Marang) and Dungun were probably two settlements of some importance at the time.

Trengganu under Sultan Mansur I (1764-1793) was a state determined to exert itself. The rapid rise of Kelantan gave cause for concern, and a fleet of one hundred Trengganu war boats and three thousand Trengganu fighting men were involved at one time in a war with Kelantan. Sultan Mansur also intensified his contact with Siam and came into conflict with the Dutch. To offset the pressure from the Dutch, the British were wooed[2] and the East India Company was offered a settlement at the capital.[3]

Sultan Mansur's rule had been one of economic development as well. Pepper, gold and some tin were produced. The yearly exports amounted to thirty thousand Spanish dollars. Captain Light, in his report of 1789

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(1) Ibid. pp.10-1.
(2) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. pp.17-22.
(3) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.61.

described Trengganu as a Malay port, its chief trade was with China. This becomes more remarkable when one bears in mind that no mention of Kelantan was made and Pahang and Johore were described as 'unfrequented'.[1]

More accounts of its settlement development were available in the eighteenth century. The town of Trengganu had become a trading centre of considerable size, well frequented by foreigners.[2] It had a thousand houses, scattered in ten or twenty in one place, partly peopled by Chinese 'who have a good trade for three or four junks yearly, besides some that trade to Siam, Cambodia, Tunquen and Sambas'.[3] The ground was cultivated by the Chinese and the products of the country which included pepper and gold, were exported by Chinese.[4]

Settlements Before Mid-nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, in spite of the civil war, interference from Siam, and rapid succession of rulers, Trengganu appears to be well off economically. Some of the coastal settlements which survived into the twentieth century, were then well developed and by far larger than those in Perak.

The population of Trengganu was estimated to be 30,000 (in late 1830s) without counting those in Kemaman. Its produces ranged from

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(1) See Light, F. (1938), 'Letter and Report of Captain Light to Lord Cornwallis, 1788', JMBRAS, Vol. 16, Part I, 1938.
(2) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.8.
(3) Hamilton, A. (1727), A New Account of the East Indies, Vol. II, Edinburgh, p.153.
(4) Ibid. pp.157-9.

ivory, pepper, camphor, gambier to gold and tin. The annual production of tin was about 7,000 piculs. It exported about 2,000 piculs of coffee, chiefly to Singapore. Kemaman also produced about 1,000 piculs of tin annually besides a little gold, camphor, ebony.[1]

Kemaman was a settlement of recent origin, created probably on account of tin mines in the neighbourhood. It had a population of 1,000 Malay and Chinese. Kemaman at first yielded a considerable revenue to the Sultan of Trengganu, but later the mines failed, and the miners dispersed, leaving behind about 100 Chinese at the mines and twenty at the settlement itself.[2]

Of the settlements, only the 'capital town' was being described in some detail. One report indicated that the town was ill laid out but contained nearly half the population of the state.[3] Another, quoted below, throws some light on the economic and social conditions at the time:

> '...the Malay town of Trengganu in 1828 was large and populous, but dirty and filthy in the extreme, the houses nearly all atap,... were occupied chiefly by women who appeared to be the principal buyers and sellers. Half way through this part of the town stands the custom-house. The Chinese are numerous, and live principally in strong and brick-built houses, which now exhibit every appearance

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(1) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. pp.59-61.
(2) Ibid. p.59-60.
(3) Malcom, H.C(1839), Travels in the Southeastern Asia, Vol. II, London, p.122.

> of an old and long established colony... The Chinese population of the town is estimated at 600, that of the Malays from 15,000 to 20,000. The principal brick buildings are the mosque, and the custom-house the latter is near the Raja's residence, but extremely dirty'.1

And significantly, there were three other settlements of considerable size between Trengganu and Kemaman; Paka containing about 100 houses, Dungan (1,000 houses) and Marang (400 houses).[2] Like Kelantan, Trengganu was actively engaged in trade. The river of Trengganu on whose mouth the town lies, was crowded with Siamese junks, cutter and small trading vessels. Munshi Abdullah, who visited Trengganu in 1836, discovered that a considerable range of exchange existed.[3] However, owing to the oppression of the Rajas, there were no merchants and the foreigners 'are afraid to live here', and the state remained thinly populated. Informative too was Abdullah's report that there were more Chinese up-country than in the town of Kuala Trengganu. The main occupation of the male Malay population was fishing while the women were in charge of the small shops and the markets.[4]

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(1) Cited in Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. pp.62-3.
(2) Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit. p.60.
(3) The state exported gold, tin, coffee, black pepper, dried betel nuts, silk, sarong, cloth of silk mixed with cotton, weapons, sugar, coconuts, salt, rattans, resin etc, it imported opium, linen, undyed cloth, European cotton cloth, undried betel nuts etc, although there were stalls selling foodstuff, clothing and other things, the markets were held only in the evening and the sellers were women. Coope, A.E. (1949), op.cit. pp.16-21.
(4) Ibid.

Abdullah's view was probably coloured by his dislike of the incompetent and oppressive rulers of the Malay states and chaotic situation then prevailing on the east coast with the civil war in Kelantan brewing. According to Earl, however, who visited the east coast about the same time, Trengganu was more important than Kelantan while Kelantan was already the most populous of the peninsula Malay states at the time.[1] Of special interest is Earl's description of the 'town-state'.[2]

Foreign trade however, was restricted. The Sultan and the Pangerans formed a sort of commercial organization aimed at monopolizing foreign trade. It was reported that the commonfolks were not permitted to purchase a single Ganton of rice which had not passed through their hands.[3] If rice, the staple food of the inhabitants, was subject to such rigid control, the monopoly of foreign trade by the few must be absolute. The restriction of trade was common within the traditional

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(1) Earl, G.W. (1837), The Eastern seas, or the Voyages and adventures in the Indian Archipelago, London, 1837, p.153.

(2) One of such 'town-state' consisted of 'a large group of huts composed of wood and thatch heaped together without any order or regularity. The part inhabited by the few Chinese who were not driven away by the tyranny of the former Sultan, can boast of some appearance of regularity, the houses and shops forming a small street, but the Malay habitantions are all detached from each other. The dwelling of the Sultan, and of two or three of the principal Pangerans or nobles, are built of more substantial materials than the rest, indeed the former may be called a fort, for it is surrounded with a paggar, or bamboo fence, and is defended by several long brass lelahs'., Ibid. p.184.

(3) Ibid. p.185.

Malay political structure.[1]

The restriction of trade together with the lack of specialization which seriously hampered the free exchange, is partly responsible for the rather slow development of the original settlements.

Situation Prior To Transfer Of Power

Baginda Omar, the ruler who remained in power after the 1839 civil war, kept Trengganu an oasis of peace when the greater portion of the east coast both to the south and the north was in a state of lawlessness. He brought wealth to the chiefs and to the trading community. His subjects became skilled artisans and traders.[2] The capital town was blessed with a handsome stone mosque and stone cause-ways.[3] After his death (he died in 1881), the importance of the capital city was considerably reduced. The revenue from Kemaman and Kijal, Kemasḥ, Kerteh, Dungun and Merchang, Marang, Setiu, Besut, Nerus etc. all went to different rajas and chiefs. The young Sultan (Zanial Abidin III) was left with the revenues of Trengganu river from Kuala Telemong to the

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(1) Earl suggests that 'The inhabitants of Trengganu are genuine Malays, a description of the town and its inhabitants would, with a few topographical alternations, answer equally well for all the indepedent Malay states on the Peninsula'. Earl, G.W. (1837), op.cit., p.184.

(2) Clifford, H. (1895), 'Expendition to Trengganu and Kelantan' cited in Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.36.

(3) Ibid. p.30.

mouth of the small river Ibai. The tributary area of the capital town was thus amputated. On top of which, it became the victim of the greatest fire in Trengganu history in 1882 (locally known as 'Api pechah gedong') in which 1,600 houses, including the Sultan's palace, were destroyed.[1]

Trengganu towards the end of the last century was in a state of considerable prosperity. The people of Trengganu was the most ingenious and among the most industrious Malays in the peninsula. The proportionally large number of 'artisans'--5,000 of them as against 26,000 agriculturists, 8,000 fishermen and 1,000 chiefs or their relatives and 'hangers on', were unique in the Malay states. The existence of this large 'manufacturing class', who produced silks, cotton fabrics, native weapons, metal and wood work,[2] was partly due to the interest and encouragement of Omar. Most of them lived in Kuala Trengganu. The capital and the villages in the immediate neighbourhood contained 12,000 inhabitants and another 32,500 were crowded into the space between the Kelemang Falls and the capital. This was perhaps the most 'urbanised' stretch of land in the state. Another interesting element about the 'artisans' was the division of labour--the weaving was done exclusively by the women but the other articles of manufacture including white brass vessels and fishing boats, were made by the men.

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(1) Ibid. p.38.
(2) The relatively advanced manufacturing industry had prompted Clifford to claim Trengganu as 'the Birmingham of the Peninsula'. Clifford, H. (1895), op.cit. p.91.

Rice, coconuts, sugar cane, fruit trees, gambier and vegetables were cultivated, but the state imported one third of the rice from Siam and the Straits. Several thousand piculs of fish were dried in the village along the coast, and more than half of which were exported to Singapore.[1] In addition, rubber and timber and other jungle produce were sold in the market and great sum of local currencies, the pitis and keping and the Yen and Mexican dollar were in common use.[2]

The social and economic life of Trengganu in the late nineteenth century centred chiefly around fishing, manufacturing of artistic articles and agricultural activities. The settlements seem to have been conditioned by these to some extent.

> 'The Malay population, which comprises about 99% of the whole, may be roughly divided into three classes: the fishermen who dwell along the coast; the artisans who inhabit the capital and the other coast towns and villages in their immediate vicinity; and the agricultural population who occupy the villages which scattered over the rest of the country...'3

In the coastal districts, the principal source of state revenue was the export duty of fish, while the Sultan's own share in the revenue was made up mainly from the duty of fish exported from Kuala Trengganu

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(1) Clifford, H. (1895), Expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan, cited in Ibid. p.45.
(2) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. pp.46-7.
(3) Clifford, H. (1895), 'Expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan', JMBRAS, (1961) Vol. 34, Part I, p.88.

and from the imports duty, harbour dues, coinage and court fines.[1] Although there is no data available to substantiate a phenomenal growth of the settlements along the coast, it is not unreasonable to assume that, the coastal ports were being considerably benefited from the export trade.

Slow Start Under British Rule

As in Kelantan, the transfer of power to British was expected to in Trengganu transform it into a'modern state'.[2] Process of modernization however was slow in coming. The difficulties in getting off the ground stemed from the tradition of absolute monarchy, and the resistance to constitutional reform. The large Concessions held by the Sultan and members of the Ruling House, and the lack of sympathetic climate did not make change and development any easier.[3]

Only when the structure of Government was re-modelled on the lines of Johore institutions, and a scheme of departments and out-stations within the framework of State Council was introduced did development begin to filter through areas outside the interest of the ruling households.

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(1) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.47.
(2) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.54.
(3) Chan Sun-Ming, (1965), op.cit. pp.184-8.

The state was however, seriously handicapped by difficulties in communication and transport. The revolutional change in district administration, by which the former system of territorial chiefs was replaced by District Officers responsible to the central government, was made difficult by lack of communication. As a result, most important districts assumed semi-autonomy.[1] Transport difficulties were also reflected in the peasants spending much time carrying their produce to markets in local centres or nearby towns where they obtained very low prices.[2] The first telephone in the state was not erected until 1911. In spite of the policy of centralization, the capital Kuala Trengganu was very much like that described by Abdullah in 1839. It was still over-crowded, ill-kept and unsanitary.[3]

Only slowly came sign of development. In 1912, land settlement begun in Kuala Trengganu and four and a half miles of new roads were laid. Work commenced on a road to Kuala Ibai, and organised collection of town refuse was begun. The shipping toll collected from vessels arriving at or sailing from the capital was abolished.[4] The first Town Board in the state was appointed in 1917,[5] five years later than a similar Conservancy Board was created in Kelantan. And even that was

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(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1915, para.13.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1916, para.34.
(3) Chan Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.185.
(4) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. pp.54-5.
(5) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1918, para.34.

a failure, as no appreciable work was done, and it met only irregularly, due to members' lack of public spirit.[1]

As late as in 1918, roads were only to be found in and around Kuala Trengganu, and inland areas were served by a net-work of footpaths with timber foot-bridges, maintained by the villages.[2] Kemaman, where 98% of the annual revenue of the district came from, and where the richest mineral resources of the state were harboured and worked by Chinese, Europeans, and Japanese; no roads or public works were undertaken nor were the authorities interested in helping the mining enterprise.[3] The major obstacle to development was the Sultan and the Ruling House, who controlled the Concessions, amounting to five sixths of the total area of Kemaman, which was three-quarters of the town mining land of the state.[4]

The government's apathy to development also contributed to stagnation in social service and other sectors. School and hospital, police and prison for instance were either neglected or left to meagre private attention. This was in marked contrast to the situation in Kelantan where social services and new institutions were introduced following the Anglo-Siamese Treaty, and large number of workers needed to man the service and the institutions were attracted to the urban

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(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1918, para.29.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1917, p.9.
(3) Chan Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.188.
(4) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1918, para.34. Cited in Chan Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.188.

areas.

The lack of development was sharply pointed out by a Commission of Enquiry in 1918:

> '...Unless some actual British control is introduced over the administration of the state, the unsatisfactory condition of the lives of the native population and of the country itself (which undoubtedly possesses great possibilities) must continue to remain in its present extremely backward and ill-developed position'.1

Rapid Development & Spatial Integration

Progress towards 'a modern state' did not therefore begin until the replacement of the British Agent by a British Advisor in 1919 along the line adopted in Kelantan. The British Agent, provided for by the 1910 Agreement, was without any effective authority with the formal feudal system of hereditary chiefs still dominating. The British Advisor on the other hand had more powers including the control over the state's revenues to put into effect any scheme. One of the measures taken in this respect was reorganization of the administrative units for effeciency and economy. The once mutually independent thirteen river-basins were amalgamated into seven units under three divisions, put in the charge of District Officers and State Commissioner respectively.

The headquarters of the important departments such as Police,

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(1) C.E.T. 1918, p.34.

Land, Customs, Medical and Public Works were located in the capital.[1] With improved communications and transport network, there was better supervision from the central authority and closer link between the capital and the district centres and between the centres themselves. It was since then that an integrative tendency and an hierarchical structure in the urban development became more apparent.

The moribund Town Board was revitalised and plunged into a series of activities in 1920. Town Board revenue increased from 1919's $4,987 to 1920's $6,135.[2] In the capital there was some improvement in the sanitation of the town and the construction of the cement drains and earth drains improved the condition of its centre. Regulations were passed for the control of rickshaw and cart traffic and rates of hire were fixed for rickshaws.

Although an orderly development was to begin, the unplanned growth of the past was mirrored in the fact that the streets were narrow and congested, the five-foot ways blocked with merchandise, insufficient market accommodation and foodstuff sold in the dust of the road.[3]

The Public Works Department too embarked on a host of projects, including the mapping of the principal rivers, surveying of traces

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(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1922, para.15; Annual Report, Trengganu, 1923, p.12; and Chan Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.191.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1920, p.1.
(3) Ibid. p.6.

for roads and the building of offices and workshop.[1] Telegraphic communication between Kota Trengganu and Kuantan was started in 1920 and plan to provide a link between the state and Singapore was underway.[2]

Despite the little demand in education, except in the capital, vernacular schools were established at Chukai, Kemasik and Marang. In the capital there was Chinese school in addition to the vernacular one.[3] Other department like the police, the treasury and the court of law, were strengthened and later spatially extended to centres outside the capital such as Kemaman and Besut, where Superintendent of Marine and Customs was added to the list of civil servants.

All these attracted more functions and people to the towns which grew in size and complexity. The link provided through the administrative structure which had the effect of welding closer together the once mutually independent centres, was also important in the formation of an urban subsystem within the state. This new element in urban development in the state, together with the desire for a planned growth became clear in the twenties.

Up to the end of the first decade after the Treaty of 1910, the urban development showed the result of inactivity of the last ten years, which was reflected in the 1921 census. The proportion of urban to total

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(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1922, para.30.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1920.
(3) Ibid. p.8.

population remained in 1921 a low 10.9% as against a promising start of 10.3% at the beginning of the new regime in 1911.[1] In fact the population of the capital Kuala Trengganu suffered a decrease of 11.1% of its inhabitants during the same period.[2] There were only three towns which contained population over 1,000, with overwhelming majority of Malays; Saberang in fact hardly had any non-Malay.

TABLE 16

Population of Towns by Race in Trengganu (1921)

Town	Total Pop.	Malays	Chinese	Indians
Saberang	1,066	1,059	1	2
Chukai	3,253	2,748	457	34
K. Trengganu	12,456	10,823	1,438	46

Source: Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. p.175.

As is clear from the census return, Trengganu underwent a period of stagnation in terms of urban development, during the first ten years of the British rule. In Kelantan the stagnation was confined to the population size; new institutions were added to the urban structure. In Trengganu new innovations did not arrive till the end of the decade.

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(1) Nathan, J.E. (1922), op.cit. p.38.
(2) Ibid. p.40.

But the state was picking up fast during the next decade. Still cut off from the rest of the country--Trengganu was and is the only state not being served by the railway (except a short span of railway between Dungun and Bukit Besi run by the Mining Company), and the road from the Trengganu to Kelantan and thereby linked the state to the system of road and railway transport, was not open till 1932. The state was however blessed with agricultural and mining resources in addition to the flourishing fishing industry.

After the restructuring of the administrative machine, what was needed was funds for development. This was forthcoming in the early twenties in the form of the Straits Settlements Loans. The loans were helpful especially in two areas: the financing of the public services and the provision of cash payment to settle the mineral-rich land held by the Concessions. The release of land for mining development not only removed the major obstacle to advancement in area like Kemaman, but also ushered in marked improvement in district administration, while the public services made possible by the loans, (the most important of which, the road construction) facilitated various development schemes and forced a closer spatial intergration, among the centres of development.

The importance of mining could be seen from the fact that in the 1910s the industry provided 98% of the revenue in the Kemaman district

and in the early thirties, the fishing village Dungun, with its iron mines became one of the chief sources of revenue in the state.[1]

The importance of mining came much later than agriculture--especially the fishing industry. Apart from subsistence rice agriculture, commercial cultivation of pepper, and gambier dating back to the eighteenth century, was practised both by the Malays and the immigrant Chinese. As indicated earlier, some of the rural settlements and the coastal trading centres came into existence as a result of the efforts of these agricultural communities. Fishing industry played even more important role in the export trade of the state and survived into the thirties when the mining industry took over as the mainstay of the trading economy.

And as Firth is at pains to emphasize, the peasant economy of Kelantan and Trengganu (both fishing and cultivation) was not a subsistence economy or a closed pre-capitalist economy[2] in the literal sense. It had external market relationships.[3] The settlements and trading centres which were called into being to serve the peasant economy in the state therefore contained elements of semi-urban character. The modernizing of the administrative machinery, the provision of the infrastructure ;, the development of mining industry and the intensification of trading activities within the colonial framework combined

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(1) Sheppard, M.C. (1935), 'Trengganu Today', Straits Times, April 4th, 1935, cited by Chan Su-Ming (1965), op.cit. p.192.
(2) Firth, R. (1943), 'The Coastal People of Kelantan and Trengganu, Malaya', The Geographical Journal, Vol. 101, p.197.
(3) Firth, R. (1946), Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, p.23.

to serve as a fresh impetus for the semi-urban element to crystalize into urban function. The twenties saw the beginning of the process.

Increase of Urban Functions

The process took many forms: the spatial spread of urban functions, physical and functional improvement of the individual towns and the development of links between centres. In 1921, Chukai (Kemaman) was the only centre apart from the capital which had a Town Board. By 1937 Besut, Batu Rakit, Marang, Kuala Dungun, Paka, Kretai, Kemasik and Kijal had all joined in.[2] In 1922, the P.W.D. began its own office building in the capital, two years later, the department carried out construction of court house, police station, barrack, hospital, market, motor launch, school, living quarters, rest house, office, telephone installation etc. in no less than seven centres simultanuously.[3] There were no medical service other than two out-patients dispensaries at Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman in the charge of unqualified men, prior to 1922;[4] there were seven centres with permanent government dispensaries in 1934.[5] Three years later, the hospital services in addition to the dispensaries spread to other centres.

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(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1921, p.7.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1937, p.16.
(3) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1924, pp.20-1.
(4) Sheppard, M.C. (1949), op.cit. p.63.
(5) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1934,

TABLE 17

Hospital wards and beds in Towns (1937)

Town	Ward	Bed
Kuala Trengganu	10	158 (plus another ward of 7-beds for the prisoners)
Chukai	2	28
Kuala Dungun	1	20

Sources: Annual Report, Trengganu, 1937.

Kuala Trengganu received most of the attention as far as the internal development of the individual towns was concerned. Although the financial position did not permit of considerable expenditure, the sanitation of the town was greatly improved. Coffee-shops and eating houses were brought under control and house assessment was extended to all dwelling-houses.[1] In 1923, a large vegetable and produce market was erected to accommodate the female hawkers who formerly sat in the dust on both sides of the road. A town-plan was drafted with maps laying out zones for the future development of commercial, industrial and residential areas. Some fifty acres of land in the town were made possible for this purposes following the settlement of the Sultan Concession.[2] The capital was up to late twenties, still without water

(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1921, p.7.
(2) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1923, p.15.

supply and conservancy system, but it was now fairly clean and the business portion was being surveyed.[1] Tight control ensured that no buildings which were insanitary would be allowed to be erected, or illegal constructions which caused over-crowding elsewhere would mushroom unchecked.

The development of the capital was reflected in the expenditure and the revenue during the twenties:

TABLE 18

Town Board Revenue and Expenditure of Kuala Trengganu

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Revenue($)	8,643	12,714	13,713	15,256	15,899	18,438
Expenditure($)	10,590	16,215	14,117	13,897	16,964	18,086

Sources: Annual Reports, Trengganu, 1921 to 1926.

The steady increase of revenue and the gradual balancing off of the revenue against the expenditure indicate improvement of the services provided by the town board.

Other towns did not fare as well as the capital, but development and improvement were descernible. Apart from the town board and medical

(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1926.

services and developments carried out by the P.W.D. there were separate functions developed in various centres. Chukai, Dungun and Kuala Besut for instance were developing into considerable ports with the first two becoming mine-ore centres regularly called by the Japanese ocean-going vessels.[1] Manufacturing industry such as sawmill was established in Chukai and new town lay-outs were planned for Chukai and Dungun in the thirties,[2] which affected various improvements, including the building of twenty-nine shophouses of an approved type at Kuala Dungun.[3] The returns of the town board revenue show the pace of the internal development of the various centres:

TABLE 19

Town Boards Revenues (in $), Trengganu

Year	K. Trengganu	Kemaman	Besut	Kemasik	Dungun
1932	21,542	10,804	2,630	1,729	2,221
1933	21,117	11,457	2,459	2,395	2,457
1934	20,119	11,843	2,906	2,345	3,325
1935	20,137	13,132	2,582	2,036	4,133
1936	25,875	14,660	2,929	3,405	4,764
1937	26,162	13,827	3,269	3,531	5,960

Sources: Annual Reports, Trengganu, 1932 to 1937.

(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1933, p.25.
(2) Ibid. p.21 and Annual Report, Trengganu, 1935, p.16.
(3) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1937, p.17.

Interestingly, the revenue returns confirm the hierarchical order of the centres arranged by population size (over 1,000) as shown in the 1931 census.

TABLE 20

Order of Urban Centres
(With population over 1,000)

K. Trengganu	- 13,972
Kemaman	- 5,468
K. Besut	- 2,939

Source: Vieland, C.A. (1932), op.cit. p.141.

The figures also underlie the trend during the thirties: the relatively rapid growth of Kemasik and Dungun. The exploitation of the iron-ore had helped push the fishing village to the fore and challenged the position of the second centre of the state: Kemaman.

Intercity and intracity links were greatly improved by the construction of roads and trunk roads. In 1927, the state could boast of 145 miles of road while there were only ten in 1915.[1] Most of the big centres were provided with road in the late twenties and trunk road linking Kelantan was also in use. The situation was further improved in the thirties when the road system was connected to the railway system

(1) Annual Report, Trengganu, 1927, p.9.

at Kuala Krai in Kelantan and the increase in the use of the motor vehicles. The introduction of passenger buses in the late thirties enhanced further the circulation and connectivity within and between cities. The following figures show the trend of development:

TABLE 21

Motor Vehicles in Trengganu (1933-37)

Type	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Motor cars (private)	124	109	135	169	233
Motor cars (hire)	74	93	113	137	161
Motor cycles	28	29	34	41	44
Lorries	26	25	33	42	45
Passenger buses	1	1	1	13	17

Sources: Annual Reports, Trengganu, 1933 to 1937.

We have so far, however, emphasized only the impetus provided by the infrastructure within the colonial economy on the urban centres most exposed to its impact. But in Trengganu the rate and magnitude of the urban development, especially since the thirties were far greater than could be accounted for solely by the external impetus and stimulations. The development of its peasant economy and the geography of the state in relation to the rest of country had helped to some degree in bringing about the rather phenomenal urban growth.

TABLE 22

Urban Development in Trengganu

	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957
Proportion of Urban to Total Population	10.4%	10.9%	12.4%	23.5%	33.5%
Number of Towns (1,000 and over)	3	3	3	11	11

Sources: Del Tufo, M.V. (1949), op.cit. p.46 and Federation of Malaya (1960), 1957 population Census Report No.1, p.170.

TABLE 23

Racial Composition of Population, Trengganu

Year	Malaysians	Chinese	Indians
1931	81.5%	15.5%	2.1%
1947	82.0	15.5	2.0
1957	81.4	16.2	1.8

Sources: Federation of Malaya (1960), 1957 Population Census, p.10.

These tables show that the great increase of urban population and urban centres between 1931 and 1947 was not due to the influx of Chinese and Indians. The surprisingly high degree of urbanization in the state was the result of the development of the fishing industry. Ten of the eleven towns were in fact classified as fishing towns in 1947.[1]

(1) Hodder, B.W. (1959), Man in Malaya, London, p.78.

A closer look of the industry and the development of fishing settlements into urban centres may provide us with some insight into the evolution of the urban subsystem in the state.

Fishing Industry And Urban Development

According to Firth, in both Kelantan and Trengganu sea fishing and the secondary occupations connected with it formed a major industry. And as fish was an important article of commerce throughout the country, an elaborate organisation of transport and marketing had been built up to convey it to the towns and villages near the coast, where the life of the community revolved around that industry. Firth emphasizes time and again that it was not a subsistence economy, and the fishing communities were not economically isolated, cash incomes were procured through it and the community took part in a general system of exchange in the country as a whole. They had elaborate marketing and credit arrangements with shopkeepers and others outside fishing circles, the dependence between the fishermen, the agriculturists and the townfolks was mutual.[1] The fishing industry therefore contained town-building and town-giving elements which helped the urban centres to grow bigger and to up-grade the fishing villages to urban status.

Trengganu therefore experienced a situation where urban development

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(1) Firth, R. (1943), op.cit. p.197.

was interwoven with a peasant economy unknown in the western states of the country. Allen discovers in the early fifties:

> 'In statistics of tonnage handled Kuala Trengganu does not compare with Kota Bharu, but the port presents an appearance of much greater bustle and activity. If the fish trade be included, it is the busiest port of the east coast of Malaya'.1

The case of Chukai, a small town serving a limited hinterland, underlied the retaintive importance of the fishing industry to a town faced with changed conditions. Chukai had good road connections with Kuantan, and some exports, mainly copra and rubber, which used to pass through Chukai, now went by lorry to the bigger town Kuantan. But export of fish by road to Kuala Lumpur remained as it was. Though it was the best natural harbour and probably the best equipped at that time, it was also 'the least used'. The volume of trade passed through it had been reduced, yet there was still 'a big export by sea of dried fish'.[2]

Nearly all the important coastal ports in Trengganu (and Kelantan) were connected with fishing industry. Apart from the capital and Chukai, Kuala Dungun which thrived on mining at Kubit Besi inland, started as a fishing village; likewise the timber-exporting port of Kuala Paka, the once important port of Kuala Besut or the newly developed site of

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(1) Allen, D.F. (1953), Report on the Minor Ports of Malaya, Singapore, p.66.
(2) Allen, D.F. (1953), op.cit. p.73.

Chenering were all principal fishing settlements of the state.[1]

With lesser population, limited agricultural land and under-developed transport and therefore more cut off than Kelantan, Trengganu's higher and faster rate of urban development was brought about in no small measure through its flourishing fishing industry. As a result, local characteristics of the urban centres were also pronounced.

The East Coast & The Subsystems

The urban development of the eastern coast of the country embodied by the development in the states of Kelantan and Trengganu represents a departure of pattern of urban growth initiated and nurtured entirely by the colonial-immigrant political-economic complex. It came close to a pattern formed in part as a response to the indigenously developing social division of labour and in part as a response to the impact by their integration into colonial-immigrant economy. The difference of the urban development between the eastern and western coasts can be better understood within the historical framework under which urban structures operated:

> '...the Federation represents an experiment in the super-imposition of a modern political and economic structure on a simple agrarian people, whereas

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(1) See Firth's maps (1946) on the principal settlements and fishing industry in Kelantan and Trengganu, Firth, R. (1943), op.cit. pp.29-31.

> Kelantan and Trengganu are an experiment in raising a people by the development of its own forces from within...'1

The products of the colonial-immigrant complex and the indigenous society and their contrast are best exemplified by the difference between Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Federation, and Kota Bharu, capital of Kelantan, in the thirties, when the integrative forces of the colonial rule was still weak in the unfederated Malay states:

> '...here [in Kota Bharu] the visitor is first struck by the sense of entering into a town which, with modern trimmings, is an obvious outgrowth of the Malay society. The houses are Malay houses and the streets Malay streets. If many ~~of~~ shops are actually in Chinese hands, the Chinese themselves, so unbiquitious in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, are almost conspicious by their abscence. The Malays themselves make up more than seventy percent of the population, instead of the ten percent of Kuala Lumpur, whereas the Europeans, according to 1931 census, are only o.22% of the total as compared with Kuala Lumpur's 1.38%. The few public buildings and the Residency are all of the type and on the scale which are directly comprehensible and akin to the Malay. If Kuala Lumpur is at heart a European-Oriental commercial capital, Kota Bharu is the modestly prosperious and peaceful market town of a Malay countryside'.

This tale of two cities sums up in many aspects the two ends of the urban spectrum in the country, increasingly welded together by political, economic structures and transport networks to form an

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(1) Emerson, R. (1937), Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule, New York, p.249.
(2) Emerson, R. (1937), op.cit. pp.249-50.

integrative urban system. But at the time when the tale was told in the thirties, the evolution process was in its various developmental stages on both sides of the country. On a cultural scale, Kuala Lumpur assumed more of an heterogenetic role while Kota Bharu was perhaps still a city of othogenetic transformation. Later development, which was exposed to common integrative influence to a larger extent, as a result of the improved transport network and closer economic and social interaction, no doubt helped to bridge the gap between the two. But both in appearance and in functions, they still bear the stamps of their origins and different historieal development.

The difference between urban development on both sides of the peninsula was indeed marked, but the urban patterns in Trengganu and Kelantan were by no means identical in all aspects. Local conditions, geographical and historical, encouraged variations despite the fact that they share many things in common.

TABLE 24

Kelantan and Trengganu: A Comparison

	Kelantan			Trengganu		
Year	Total Pop.	% of Urban to Total	No. of Towns (1,000 & over)	Total Pop.	% of Urban to Total	No. of Towns (1,000 & over)
1911	286,751	4.3	1	154,073	10,4	3
1921	309,574	4.2	2	153.979	10.9	3
1931	362,517	6.5	5	180,074	12.4	3
1947	448,572	7.9	6	225,996	23.5	11
1957	505,500	22.7	6	278,300	33.5	11

Sources: Various Census Reports.

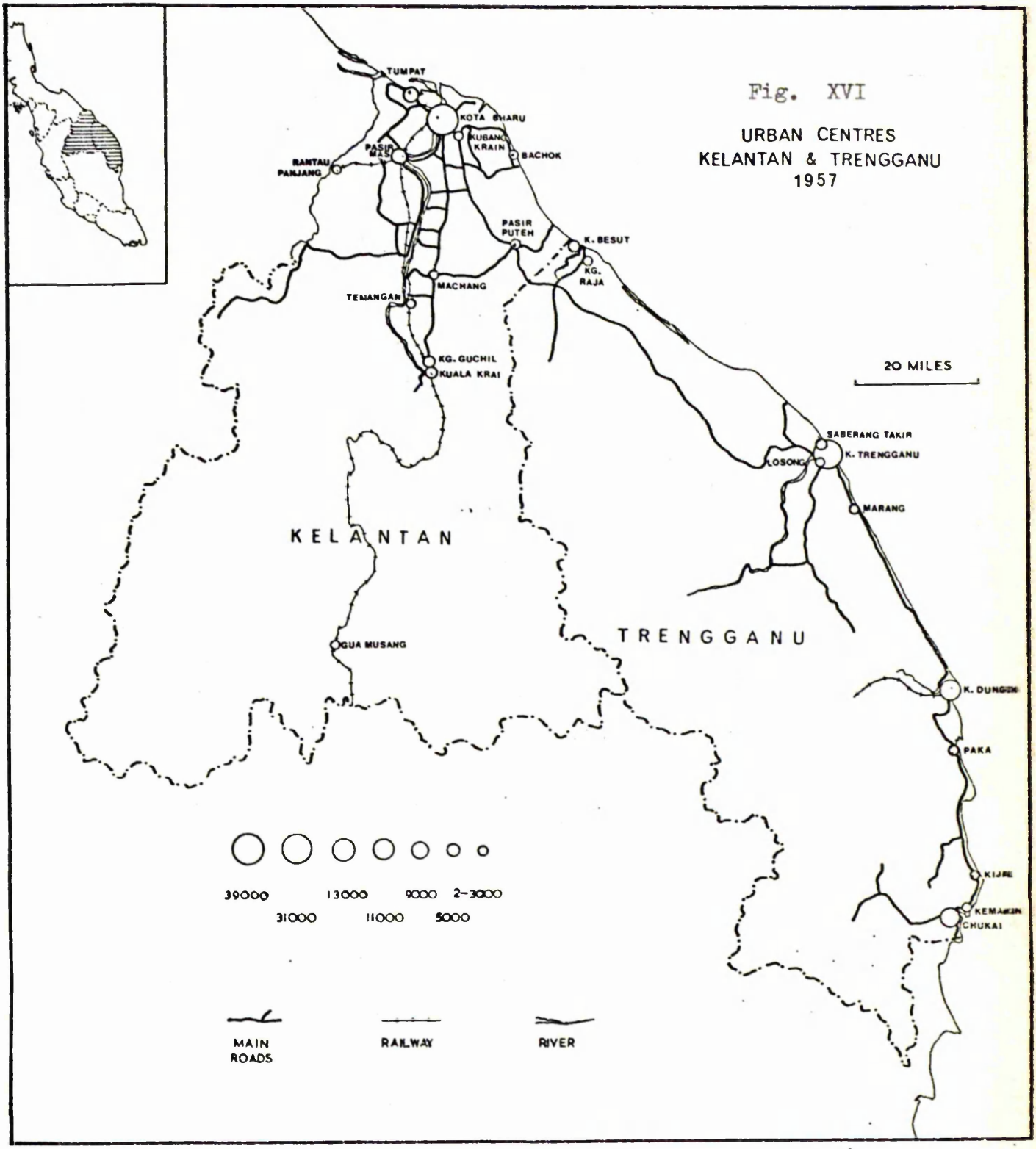
Fig. XVI
URBAN CENTRES
KELANTAN & TRENGGANU
1957
TUMPAT
KOTA BHARU
KUBANG KRAIN
BACHOK
PASIR MAS
RANTAU PANJANG
PASIR PUTEH
K. BESUT
KG. RAJA
MACHANG
TEMANGAN
KG. GUCHIL
KUALA KRAI
20 MILES
SABERANG TAKIR
K. TRENGGANU
LOSONG
MARANG
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
GUA MUSANG
K. DUNGUN
PAKA
KIJAL
KEMAMAN
CHUKAI
39000
31000
13000
11000
9000
5000
2-3000
MAIN ROADS
RAILWAY
RIVER

At first sight it is surprising that with lesser population, smaller agricultural hinterland, and less developed transport network Trengganu's urban development should be more advanced than that of Kelantan's. Paradoxically it is because of the first two reasons which encouraged population concentration at certain centres and an export-oriented fishing trade which gave rise to sophisticated marketing system. The effect of the Trengganu fish trade with its limited hinterland market, is that the system of communications essentially connects one centre of fish production with another, and not with centres of large demand inland.[1] This, together with the topography of the state, resulted in the lateral development of transport network, with a single major road parrallel to the coast, all the way from Jerteh through the capital to Kemaman (Chukai). The only inland road before the war was that to the small centre of Kuala Brang, at the apex of the Trengganu river plain. Without exception, all the major centres were located on the coast, at the estuary of a river, through which communication with the interior was served. The long coast line and the many river mouths provided the state with many a centre.

Kelantan has a shorter coast line, but a larger hinterland serving as a market for the products of fishing section of the population.[2] In addition, the rice-growing population made it more self-contained than Trengganu. As pointed out by Firth, full time fishing tended to

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(1) Firth, R. (1946), op.cit. p.34.
(2) Ibid. p.32.

be more definitely associated with an exchange economy than did full-time agriculture.[1] And exchange economy tended to encourage the emergence of urban bases. This explains the surprisingly high degree of urban development in Trengganu than in Kelantan when other factors point to the contrary.

Trengganu coastal urban pattern as against the inland development in the neighbouring Kelantan was more conditioned by geography than by other elements. The population and the agriculture of the state were confined to 600 square miles Kelantan Delta. A moderately good system of arterial and interconnected roads with the capital Kota Bharu as the centre was developed. The network was more developed east of the river and unlike Trengganu, it extended far inland and reached Kuala Kerai, some forty miles away. An urban pattern close to that expected by the Central Place Theory was gradually called into being. All the centres save the port Tumpat, in contrast to the neighbouring state, were located inland.

Relatively cut off from the effects of the technological change, the pressure of direct European administration, the large scale Chinese immigrants and capitalist enterprises, the east coast developed its own settlement pattern reflecting the ways in which its population and activities were organised within the constraint of the peasant economy

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(1) Ibid. p.27.

and physical environments. The settlement centres remained relatively insulated to the influence and repercussion of the urban system based largely on the western coast and developed into regional subsystem by themselves.

The building of the railway and the development of the roads, however, effectively broke the physical isolation and forced a link between the subsystem and the main system. The absorption of the subsystem into the main system caused a re-structuring of the former and some re-orientation of the individual centres.

In Trengganu for instance where the intregration of the centres into the main system was indirect: through the road link with the railway system via Kelantan's road network; and through Kuantan in Pahang with national road system. Yet the change was visible. Kuala Besut had declined in importance owing to the development of lorry transport. The population was about 3,000, some 500 less than before the war, and the town was not as important a commercial centre as Jerteh. Jerteh was on the main road, which linked Kuala Trengganu in the south and Pasir Puteh in Kelantan, through which, other centres and the railway in that state were within reach.

In the south, the export trade of Chukai and Kemaman was undercut by Kuantan as a result of the improved road link. Although the inland centres, without real economic base, could challenge, as the mining towns in Perak, the dominating position of the coastal ports, a centripetal, inward link of the ports with the main system was on the increase.

A closer link of the centres with the main system was more apparent in Kelantan. Of the major centres in the state, the largest four, including the port and the capital were located on the railway. The functional relation of the centres with the towns in Thailand was reorientated to some extent and the central place functions serving mainly the immediate countryside were broadened to include elements which made them part of a larger whole. In short, the urban subsystem of east coast were absorbed in the urban system effectively after the thirties.

CHAPTER VI

PORT TERMINALS OF SINGAPORE AND PENANG

The evolution of the urban system in Malaya had as its starting points and the commanding heights the ports of Penang and Singapore, which were the main bases of the colonial-immigrant enterprises. Malacca had then been in a stage of stagnation, indeed, decline, when the colonial-immigrant forces set in motion the revolutionary process which provided the genesis for urban development.

Penang and Singapore were established to secure the British trade route to the East through the crucial Straits of Malacca; they soon developed into centres of east west trade and regional exchange. The Chinese immigrants were quick to turn them into bridgeheads for economic exploration, though politically the two ports remained 'aloof' towards the peninsula. When British control was extended to the mainland in 1874, a closer link between the ports and their natural hinterland began to emerge, with the two ports functioning as both the bridgehead and the headlink.

Since then, the two ports spear-headed the colonial-immigrant advance across the peninsula, overshadowing the kuala settlements and making themselves felt in the interior centres. With the development of the transportation networks and the integrative colonial economy, the two ports, by virtue of their terminal location, became increasingly dominating in the spatial structure of urban centres. More favourably placed in terms of geopolitics, Singapore grew to become the primate city in the country.

Penang: The First Colonial Bridgehead

In spite of its long history and varied association with foreign occupation, Malacca had rarely become a 'bridgehead', in terms of interior development. The Portuguese for instance, set their eyes on China, the Dutch looked to East Indies and the British interests stretched from the Indian subcontinent to the Far East, of which Malacca was but a point of defence and a bargaining pawn, important but disposable. It acted as an outlet for mineral and jungle products from the interior and possibly a distributing point for imported commodities, but not much as a fountainhead for organized exploitation of the hinterland.

The colony of Penang[1] came into being with a difference although it did not become a bridgehead from its inception. The settlement of Georgetown was established by Captain Francis Light of the East Indian Company in 1786. The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw in Southeast Asia a period of European territorial expansion, which resulted in military confrontations involving the British, the Dutch and the French. The acquisition of Penang was thus motivated primarily by naval strategy. It was envisaged to be one of the key posts and the headquarters of the Company's vast trading areas in South Asia and the Far East. Commercial considerations bore little relation to the trade of the Malay Peninsula. Some scholars believed that the Company had no intention of expanding

(1) Penang is here referred to the island Prince of Wales and the city Georgetown.

its political control over Malaya.[1]

The naval aspect of Penang should not, however, according to Kennedy be overstressed. The desire to enter the Southeast Asian trade and the need for a port-of-call for English shipping between India and China were as important as the need for a naval base, and Penang could fulfil all the three requirements.[2]

Whatever the motivation of its acquisition, the commercial significance of Penang outstripped its military function from the outset. While the naval dockyard never became a reality, the growth of trade and the population of Penang was so rapid that it overshadowed the settlements on both sides of the Straits, including Malacca. Its influence spread over the mainland in a way not experienced by any coastal settlement on the peninsula, as Clodd recalls: that 'Asiatics and Europeans alike flocked to the island'. The trading potential of the island was realized immediately. The first instant instruction from the Bengal Government less than a year after Penang's establishment was "to make the port free to all nations".[3]

> '...the free port of Penang had made an auspicious beginning; traders from the Malay Archipelago, eager to avoid sale to the Dutch under the compulsion of monopoly, undertook the long voyage through the Straits of Malacca to Penang; merchants from India, from Burman, from Siam, from Acheen; all came to trade...4

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(1) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. p.421.
(2) Kennedy, J. (1970), op.cit. p.74.
(3) Clodd, H.P. (1948), Malaya's First British Pioneer: The Life of Francis Light, pp.55-6. (London)
(4) Ibid.

The free-port policy had the far-reaching effect of encouraging the growth of the entrepot trade which was to turn Penang, until it was overtaken by Singapore, into the most important bridgehead of the British development into the Malaya Peninsula.

Reports of the time show that the attraction of Penang was more than commercial, and unlike Kedah and Malacca in their days, the traders who came were interested in permanent settlement on the island. Captain Kyd was able to report in January 1787, hardly a year after the founding of the settlement of the shops in the bazaar. The shops were kept by the Chinese who accounted for no less than sixty families at the time. And significantly 'many more are expected to settle on the island soon', and the Chinese 'spread all over the Malay Countries and exercise almost all the handicraft professions and carry on most of the retail trade.'[1] Light himself intimated that but for the Dutch, who kept a strict watch over the Malays, most of them would leave Malacca for Penang.[2]

Attempt to make it a permanent settlement was manifested by the fact that every encouragement was given for the cultivation of rice so as to render it self-supporting. Equally revealing is the fact that all nationalities including the British settlers contributed to this effort.[3]

The combined efforts of the settlers and the authories, which until

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(1) Clodd, H.P. (1948), op.cit. p.55.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.

the death of Light in 1794 was largely a one-man show, Penang grew in the face of the half-hearted support of the East India Company's decision-making body in India. Barely three years after its foundation, imports and exports valued at 421,000 rupees and 432,000 rupees respectively were recorded. The increase of population also matched the growth of trade. The estimated population of 6,937 in 1797 had increased to 12,000 in 1801, a record in any settlement in so short a period from its foundation.[1] Partly to cope with the growth in trade and population, a strip of mainland opposite the island was acquired through a treaty with Kedah in 1800. The new addition, renamed Province of Wellesley, served the dual purposes of safeguarding the island and its trade and providing larger food-producing land for rice cultivation.

It is interesting to note the changing composition of the population. At the founding of the settlement, the predominating population was made up of Malays; by 1788, the Chinese formed two fifths of the total of about one hundred; of the 26,107 in 1812, 7,558 and 7,133 were the Chinese and Indians respectively, and the Malays only numbered 9,854, far less than the combined immigrant population. Of significance too was the Europeans, mainly British who engaged in trade and administration. Numerically small, proportionally high, and above all, they were the main-spring of the development of the island.[2]

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.

The commercial growth of Penang and the important role played the British trading companies were set against a favorable background. By the 1780s, the British had reached the 'take-off' period for economic growth, the demand for raw materials was increasing; so was the trade with China. The loss of the American colonies made the search for new markets in the East increasingly pressing. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, wars between the European powers had gradually come to an end. With the spheres of influence demarcated, these powers began to enter into various commercial treaties. Penang reaped the fruits of these developments and strengthened its bridgehead function as a colonial port.

The increasing domination by the immigrant over the indigenous populations and the division of labour among them were indicators of the characteristics of the settlement. Chinese for instance, worked as carpenters, masons, smiths traders, shopkeepers and planters; Indian, shopkeepers and labourers while Malays were by and large agriculturists.[1] The part played by the Chinese in the early days in Penang, observed Clodd, was symbolic of their enterprise and persistence in seeking out fresh avenues of trade which characterised their penetration of the Malay Peninsula following the spread of British influence inland.[2] The colonial-immigrant complex, which was to become the driving force

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(1) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.199.
(2) Clodd, H.P. (1948), op.cit. p.55.

in the economic and urban development of the mainland, had began to establish its major foothold on the island of Penang, before the rise of Singapore.

The development of the settlement itself was, however, not as rapid as expected. The township, growing up on swampy land round the port, was haphazard and subject to disease. There were only twenty brick houses by 1793. Although the settlement attracted a large unruly characters in its early days, law-court was not established till 1807. There were no schools. Although a network of roads was laid down by Light, little attention was paid to its improvement or to public buildings. No land was reserved for public purposes and there was no land revenue. The administration was far from paying its way. By 1812 the plan for a naval base was finally abandoned.

By then the locational significance of Penang had been reduced by changed conditions. The period of territorial expansion had gradually given way to one of economic exploitation. Southeast Asia had now become the "development area" itself and not just a halfway station of the trade route between the Asian mainland on the one hand and India and Europe on the other. Consequently, the centre of commercial gravity shifted southward and eastward. The military importance of Penang as a base faded further away with the arena for political control moved from the Indian Subcontinent to Southeast Asia. The abandonment

of Penang's naval base and the use of Malacca as the centre for naval expedition confirmed this trend, although the unsuitability of its dockyard for shipping might have added to Penang's disadvantage.

The year 1805 signifies the change of the existing conditions. In that year Penang ceased to be the dependency of Bengal, a relation it maintained with the latter since its foundation. Raffles, who arrived on the island that year to become an assistant secretary, was quick to realize that it was badly placed for trade with the Archipelago --too far to the west for the native trading vessels in the Straits infested with pirates. Later when Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor of Java planned in vain to extend British rule to the Netherland Indies, to which Penang lay 'out side the gates', Malacca was chosen as the military base for rendez-vous.[1]

In the meantime, the development of commerce on the island too was not as rapid as expected. This was so in spite of the fact that Malacca was captured in 1795 and every possible effort was made to divert the trade to Penang. After 1805, the year 'when hopes for the future of the island were at their highest',[2] Penang was not far away from losing its dominating position on the peninsula.

The rise of Singapore saw the end of an era represented by the establishment and the growth of Penang. The era was characterized by

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(1) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. pp.430-1.
(2) Ibid. p.437. Between 1810 and 1819, Penang's trade was stationary. Also Clodd, H.P. (1948), op.cit. p.150.

the territorial expansion of the European powers in Southeast Asia and their ensuing wars; the intensity of trading activities in the Far East and the Malay archipelago. The raison d'etre of the foundation and the early development of Penang was military and commercial. The era was also characterized by the event of Industrial Revolution and hence the economic 'take off' of Britain to which Penang belonged, the urge for trade and acquisition of raw materials was on the increase. The loss of American colonies amplified both the need and its urgency. All these factors worked in Penang's favour.

The growth of the settlement, however, was by no means without constraints. Although the Malay Peninsula came increasingly under British 'sphere of influence' towards the end of eighteenth century, the doctrine of 'non-intervention' was adhered to. Direct commitment of the interior of the mainland had yet to come. The function of a bridgehead was necessarily limited and that of a head-link had to await further development. The changed conditions of geopolitics during the first two decades of the nineteenth century further reduced Penang's strategic importance while the fruits of surging economic activities of the interior was to be harvested by the growing Singapore.

Even before the foundation of Singapore, Penang had shown sign that it would lose its battle in competing with the yet urborn rival. Its trade from 1810 till the establishment of Singapore, was at a stand still. In addition to the geopolitical situations at large, the increase

of piracy in the Straits of Malacca dealt another body blow to the settlement. Many native traders were forced to turn away from the troubled waters, and hence the island port.

The changed situations of time and space in terms of geopolitics were summed up by the following paragraphs.

> 'At present, our great object in settling Prince of Wales Island is to secure a port of refreshment and repair for the King's, and Company's and the country ships, and we must leave it to time and to your good management to establish it as a port of commerce'.1

This was written in 1787, while in 1820, Penang had became:

> 'A small spot of barren soil, having a good harbour, but too far to the west, or, in other words, too remote from the most populous and productive parts of the Archipelago, and entirely out of the way of the easiest and safest avenue, the Straits of Sunda'.2

From Bridgehead to Commercial Dependency

The period between the foundation of Singapore in 1819 and the British Intervention on the mainland in 1874 was one of commercial decline for Penang. The position of Penang was reduced to a colonial backwater and commercial dependency of Singapore.[3] Within three years, Singapore had captured almost all Penang's trade except in northern

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(1) Mills, L.A. (1925), 'British Malaya 1824-1867', JMBRAS,3.
(2) Crawfurd, J. (1820), History of the Indian Archipelago, Edinburgh, Vol. III, p.219.
(3) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.201.

Sumatra and the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Over three quarters of its trade with Siam and almost the whole of its trade with the islands east of the Straits of Malacca had changed hands. With the exception of its trade with China, by virtue of its convenience as a depot for collection of local produce from the adjacent countries, the trade of Penang 'had almost ceased to exist'.[1]

The 'annihilating' effect of Singapore's growth on Penang (and more disastrously on Malacca) led the Penang Council to believe that the remedy lay in destroying the freedom of trade at Singapore. It was a misdirected appraisal of the situation, ignoring the locational advantages of Singapore and the geopolitical situation of the time. For, when a compromise solution was reached in 1827, putting three Straits Settlements on the same footing--free port status to all--Penang did not recapture its former commerce. (Malacca fared even worst). By 1830, Penang's trade was less than one fifth of that of Singapore's. The hitherto largest port on the coast of the peninsula for half a century had been reduced to a local trading-centre.[2]

Another indication of reduced importance of Penang was the locational choice of the merchant houses. The merchant houses, representing the European commercial enterprise located themselves almost entirely in Singapore. Penang had to content with branches functioning

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(1) Mills, L.A. (1925), op.cit.
(2) Mills, L.A. (1925), op.cit.

as subsidiaries.[1] The Europeans, it may be recalled, had been the main-spring of the early development in Penang. The shift of locale for operation signalled a shift of the centre of colonial bridgehead.

Hope for trade revival in Penang came when large scale mining in Perak, where the tin produce was transferred to the island for processing and shipment. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 too benefited Penang as a trading port. By then, Singapore had long outgrown Penang and the tin mining in Selangor and Negri Sembilan and the opening of the Canal put it even further ahead of the older port. However, Penang did grow. As the figures of the total value of trade show (see Table 25), the settlement was able gradually to pick up her commerce after the annihilating onslaugh by Singapore during the first decade of the latter's existence.

There existed two catagories of trade: firstly, the exchange of produce of the adjacent countries and the manufactured goods of Britain and India; secondly, trade between Penang and China. The first catagory of exchange suggested colonial economic link, and a great part of this trade was carried through indirectly, via Singapore. The second category, more traditional in character, involved the import of large quantities of silks and other goods from China, and the export to that country of tropical products from East Indian islands, the Malay Peninsula and

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(1) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.201.

Borneo. Revealingly, Penang retained most of this exchange directly.

With territorial expansion coming to an end and the economic exploitation in the offing, the trade in the area had taken on a new dimension--mainly colonial in nature. This required a base more efficient in terms of location and facilities; it also demanded a base which fit into the broader geopolitical setup. Singapore was, from British point of view, the clear choice. The following table indicates the inevitable:

TABLE 25

Total Value (in £) of Trade in the Straits Settlements

Year	Penang	Singapore	Malacca	Total
1825	1,114,614	2,610,440	318,426	4,043,480
1830	708,559	3,948,784	141,205	4,789,548
1840	1,475,459	5,851,924	n. a.	7,327,683
1850	1,644,931	5,637,287	439,175	7,721,393
1859	3,530,000	10,371,300	920,000	14,821,300
1864	4,496,205	13,252,175	821,698	18,570,080

These figures reveal rapid growth of Singapore's trade. Its dominating position was more real than apparent. A great part of the trade of the other two settlements was carried through Singapore.

As the main theatre of activities had moved south and Penang

increasingly becoming a commercial dependency of the fast growing port of Singapore, it is useful to view the development of the two ports together. With spatial interaction between individual centres increasingly intensified as a result of the peninsula coming under one political control, the repercussions of the growth, or otherwise of one centre on the others became more and more evident.[1] The decline of Penang's position was a direct result of the rise of Singapore. As the lion share of the trade of the former was being captured by the later, and the merchants opted for the new centre to establish their operation headquarters. Most imported European and Indian manufacturers during the period under discussion reached Penang from Singapore,[2] in spite of the fact that Penang lay nearer to the manufacturers.

Although Penang had dwindled to a commercial dependency of Singapore, it remained conspicuous on the urban scene--indeed the second largest centre in Malaya till after World War II, surpassing the capital city of Kuala Lumpur. As its acquisition by the British in 1786, initiated a new chain of forces which resulted in revolutionary consequences for the political and economic evolution of Malaya, its development marked the starting point of the urban development of modern

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(1) A clear indication of the intensified spatial interaction was that trade between the two ports was speculative and the prices at one place influenced the other. Being the headquarters and the entrepot, Singapore was apparently in a better position to dictate terms (price).

(2) Mills, L.A. (1925), op.cit.

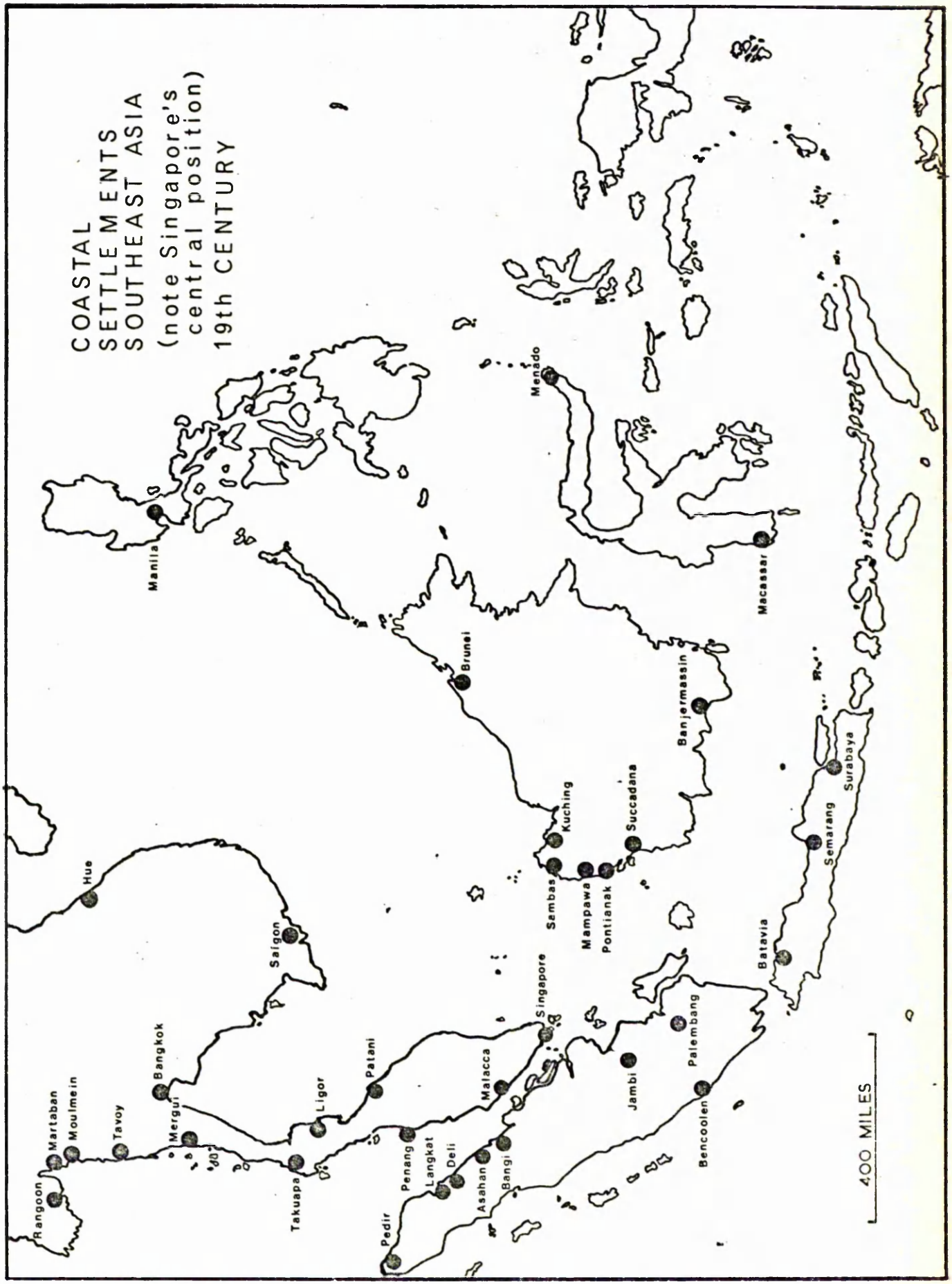
COASTAL
SETTLEMENTS
SOUTHEAST ASIA
(note Singapore's
central position)
19th CENTURY
Manila
Manado
Macassar
Brunei
Banjermassin
Kuching
Succadana
Sambas
Mampawa
Pontianak
Surabaya
Semarang
Batavia
Hue
Saigon
Singapore
Palembang
Jambi
Bencoolen
Bangkok
Martaban
Moulmein
Tavoy
Mergui
Ligor
Patani
Malacca
Penang
Langkat
Deli
Asahan
Bangi
Takuapa
Pedir
Rangoon
400 MILES

Fig. XVII

Malaya. It has been one of the most crucial nodes in the evolution of the urban system since its inception.

The Rise of Singapore: The Colonial Headlink

The rise of Singapore was in keeping with the changed conditions of the geopolitics of Southeast Asia. The course of events in the region was on many occasions determined by in large measure the vagaries of European history. The 'vagaries' during the first half of the nineteenth century could be summarised as follows. The European powers were forced, by developments elsewhere, to concentrate their attention on Southeast Asia. The effect of the Industrial Revolution spectacularly intensified the demand for raw materials and overseas markets. Their preoccupation with production and trade was matched only by their desire for territorial expansion.

The establishment of Singapore should be seen against this overall background. More specifically, Great Britain had good cause to want a base better than Penang. In addition to being the prime mover in the Industrial Revolution, she had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as the leading sea power. China trade and the lands on both sides of the Straits of Malacca became more tempting. The Dutch, who held Java from 1811 to 1816, stood in the way. If Raffles had his way, Batavia could have been the chief colonial port of Southeast Asia. As things stood, his dream of British Malay archipelago was shattered, and Malacca

restored to the Dutch in 1818. Meanwhile, Penang had revealed its inability to be the centre of the East Indies trade because it lay outside the 'gate'. He and the East India Company had only Singapore to content with.

Singapore was founded in 1819. It was first regarded merely as forward base for the opium and textile trade with China. Its affinities with the Malay Peninsula, however began to attract immigrant miners to the interior. Within a few years of its foundation, Singapore quickily established itself as an important regional trade centre. It marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of British trade with the Archipelago, and the growth of its trade has few parallels in the history of commerce.[1] Within the first four years, it captured most of Penang's trade which took the older settlement nearly four decades to develop. Its effect on the ancient city of Malacca, was even more disastrous. Being first suffered at the hands of Penang, Malacca now lost the whole of its commerce with the Archipelago and China to Singapore. Sandwiched by two colonial ports on both sides, Malacca's trading areas were confined to the neighbouring states of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. And within that limited hinterland, its function was reduced to that of a depot for transmitting local produce to Singapore and Penang. The ancient city inevitably sank rapidly into a state of stagnation.

The stage was thus set for the unrivalled development of Singapore as the centre of trade in the Straits of Malacca. But the strategic and

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(1) Mills, L.A. (1925), op.cit.

geographical importance of Singapore made it more than a trade centre. Raffles, the founder of Singapore, realized the commanding significance of the island. He believed that, 'What Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East',[1] and was confident that:

> '...Singapore is by far the most important station in the East; and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory'.2

Initially, therefore Singapore was established to ensure control of the Straits of Malacca and the maritime trade routes of the Great Britain and not as a stepping stone to the mainland of the Malay Peninsula.[3] However, the geopolitical division following the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 and mineral exploitation in the interior soon after rapidly altered the picture. The Treaty of 1824 put into effect a demarcation such that 'all the land right of the East Indiamen's course to China now fell within the Dutch sphere, and all the land to the left of that course fell within the British sphere'.[4] This had the effect of pushing Singapore towards the peninsula. Singapore found a hinterland lying on its doorstep, and the position as a bridgehead and headlink of the mainland was imposed upon it.[5]

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(1) Coupland, R. (1946), Raffles of Singapore, London, p.106.
(2) Vlieland, C.A. (1932), British Malaya: A report on the 1931 Census and on certain problems of vital statistics, London, p.1.
(3) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.593.
(4) Winstedt, R.O. (1932), 'A History of Johore', JMBRAS, 10, p.85.
(5) When Hong Kong was acquired by the British in 1842 to take care of the China and Far East trade, Singapore was destined to develop into the chief entrepot of Southeast Asia.

Singapore, the brainchild of a dedicated empire-builder, initially designed for a global strategic and trading role, had nevertheless attracted throughout the peninsula and the archipalego, even from the less developed areas of the region:

> 'The establishment of Singapore, free of duties, and the known facility with which the native population can transact business at that port have created an unusual sensation amongst all ranks of people; even the Diaks in the centre of Borneo and those of Celebes are aware of its establishment and advantages. On the eastern coast of Borneo, from point Salatan to the Sooloo Islands, and extent of little less than one thousand miles, new prows are building in almost every week; the same on the western coast of Celebes... In all parts of both these coasts, the natives are moving from the interior districts, towards the sea; in hopes of participating in the benefits so plainly derived by those who send prows to Singapore...'[1]

With trade flooding in from all corners, Singapore grew very rapidly in commerce and in population. When Raffles arrived on the island on 28 January 1819, there were only 150 Malay fishermen.[2] In June, four months later, he was able to write that the new colony thrived most rapidly, and the population had exceeded 5,000--principally Chinese, and 'their number is daily increasing'.[3] By August 1823, the number

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(1) Dalton, J. (1830), Singapore Chronicle, 1830, cited in Moor, J.H. (1837), Notices of Indian Archipelago and Adjecent Countries, Singapore, p.15.

(2) Newbold, T.J. (1839), Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, London, Vol. I, p.279.

(3) Reffles, Lady. (1830), Memoir of Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, London, p.383.

had grown to over 10,000 nearly 4,000 being Chinese.[1] The increase of population was matched by the growth of trade. By 1820, the cost of administration was adequately covered by the revenues of the port. By 1822, its trade had overtaken that of Penang. As has shown in Table 25 , the gap between the two settlements widened rapidly. Winstedt's remarks that 'The history of Singapore is written mainly in statistics'.[2] is apt in terms of trade and population in the early years of its development.

In terms of urban influence however, Singapore had yet to make its presence felt on the peninsula. We have seen the population in the centre of Borneo and the coast of Galebes being stimulated by the establishment of Singapore. The East India Company records also indicated merchant's junks converging on the island from Bombay, Canton, Siam and the Dutch ship from Batavia. From the Malay Peninsula however, only smaller boats brought in the local produce. Trade between Trengganu and Singapore was carried by the Chinese junks on their way from other major ports. In its early years, Singapore was, thus 'essentially an entrepot with world-wide connections and depended hardly at all upon the trade of the undeveloped Malay Peninsula'.[3]

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(1) Braddell, R. (1861), Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca, Penang, Table I.
(2) Winstedt, R.O. (1948), Malaya and its History, London, p.60.
(3) Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. p.442.

The seemingly paradoxical situation of Singapore's rapid growth and its initial aloofness towards the peninsula was the result of a host of factors. The British policy of 'Non-Intervention' and later, the chaotic situation of the Malay States throughout the peninsula, were the main reasons of Singapore's political aloofness (economic involvement became stronger all the time). The Non-Intervention policy was adhered to from the day Penang was acquired to the eighteen-seventies when the forward policy was revived. The rapid growth coincided with the geopolitical change. Prior to the establishment of Singapore and especially the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, Penang was the centre of activity. Since then, the centre of gravity had shifted south. 'It was a period', as Hall observes, 'during which Singapore grew with astonishing rapidity, Penang developed at a more modest rate, and Malacca stagnated'.[1]

The southward shift of gravity reflected the British policy in the region. Until the introduction of the Residential System in the mainland, Malayan affairs did not loom large. British obsession was its interests in India and its trade with China. The peninsula, therefore, remained in the background and its relations with the British were purely commercial. 'The Straits Settlements were regarded, not as the nucleusof a Malayan Empire, but solely as trading centres'.[2] This perhaps explains 'a half-century of inactivity'[3] in the Malay States.

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(1) Ibid. p.444.
(2) Mills, L.A. (1960), 'British Malaya 1824-67', JMBRAS, XXXIII, 3, p.20.
(3) Emerson, R. (1937), Malaysia, A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule, New York, p.91.

Those words might not be appropriate in describing British policy, they did, in effect, portray a fair picture of the non-involvement in the development of mining centres on the mainland.[1]

The 'aloofness' of the British towards the peninsula as compared with its keen interests in India and China also explains, at least in part, the paradoxical reshaffling of locational importance of the sea ports, ignoring the distance-advantage and the sources of raw material in the interior. Singapore was farther than Penang from the mining areas of Larut, developed first in the twenties, and the Kinta valley, already the most developed district before the intervention. Malacca was much nearer to the tin mines around Kuala Lumpur and Seramban, not to mention the rich mines of tin and gold in Johor, than both Singapore and Penang. Yet Singapore was developed to be the new centre.

The fact that all three Straits Settlements were at the time essentially the centres of exchange, and not the central places of the immediate surroundings gave Singapore added advantage over other two. It cashed on its location on the great trade route and their system of free trade.[2] For transhipment and distribution of manufactured goods

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(1) Hall takes issue with Emerson on the question of 'inactivity' and suggests evidence of 'plenty of activity', though without spectacular achievement'. See Hall, D.G.E. (1955), op.cit. pp.443-4. British activity if any did not bring about urban process in the interior during this period.

(2) Some views tend to overemphasize the importance of free trade policy as the factor for Singapore's success. See for instance McClellan, J. (1971), 'Entrepot Trade', in You Poh Seng and Lim Chong Yah, The Singapore Economy, (eds.) Singapore, pp.180-1. It needs only to recall Penang's (and Malacca's for that matter) free port status without matching success to realize Singapore's geopolitical advantages.

from Europe and India to China and Southeast Asia, or as a depot of local produce for transmission in opposite direction, Singapore was better located.

Indeed, if the history of the Straits Settlements was in its essence 'the expansion of their commerce from Burma to Australia and from Java to China' as Mills suggests,[1] Singapore had obvious advantages as a central place in the wider trade region. When the trade to China was thrown open in 1833, Singapore's role as a transhipment port in this direction was reduced and the establishment of Hong Kong in 1842 dealt it another blow. Singapore had however by then established itself as a trading emporium of Southeast Asia. Its loss of trade with China was more than compensated by the increase of trade with Southeast Asia.[2] The changing flow of trade also indicated the shifting locational significance of the entrepot. The 'Malta of the East' had soon given way to the gate of the China trade, which was replaced by the trading centre of Southeast Asia. But Singapore was far from 'home'--its relation with the Malay States remained relatively unchanged. The opening of the Suez Canal re-aligned its trade links and reinforced its

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(1) Mills, L.A. (1960), op.cit. p.219.

(2) In 1833, a quarter of Singapore's imports and exports was with Southeast Asia, by 1860, the proportion had increased to one half. During the same period, its trade with China dropped from almost a quarter to less than a fifth. See Cowan, C.D. (1961), Nineteenth-century Malaya, The Origins of British Political Control, London, p.21.

strategic and trading position as a port, but did not contribute much to its 'home-ward looking' tendency.

The link with the mainland developed gradually and indeed painfully--the turning point came with large scale mining and the resultant chaos in the interior. Before 1850s, the British authorities, the Chinese immigrants and the Malays seemed to operate separately both in area and activities. The British were largely confined to the Straits Settlements, while the Chinese immigrant miners, though active in the interior, shunned the Malay kampongs--as the mines lay conveniently outside the traditional Malay Settlement. Although the mining industry was financed by the Chinese merchants based in the Straits Settlements under the British administration, and the Malay chiefs participated in letting out mining-land and collecting tolls on tin trade, the cross-cultural and economic links among the three were weak.

The picture changed drastically from the mid-century. Large scale mining altered British assessment of the peninsula's potentials; and large sca le influx of the immigrant miners called into being interior centres such as Taiping, Kuala Lumpur and Seremban and many others. The Chinese merchants and indeed the continued prosperity of the Straits Settlements were now tied closely to the mining development in the interior. At the same time, the traditional chiefs were irreparably involved in sharing the new wealth. On mining industry were thus converged the interests of all the three elements. But the almost 'free

for all' development led to conflicts the authority of the traditional rulers could not contain. The conflicts eventually culminated in civil wars involving both the Chinese miners and the Malay chiefs. The Straits Settlements could not remain aloof towards the peninsula in the face of economic[1] and social pressure--the civil wars in the Malay States not only disrupted straits trade, but also threatened to turn the Settlements, by way of the Secret Societies connection, into the theatre of violence. It was partly to protect the interest of the Straits Settlements that the British Government decided to intervene, thus ending half a century of 'inactivity'.

Leaving aside the many advantages directly and indirectly brought about by the extension of British control (such as the restoration and expansion of the mining industry, the construction of the transport network), the most important change for the two colonial ports had been that they were now part and parcel of the development of the peninsula. The 'connecting link' between the colonial ports, the kuala settlements and the interior mining centres, representing respectively the British, the traditional and the Chinese interests, was established. Very rapidly a chain reaction was set in motion: the major mining centres, especially those afforded with administrative function, and

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(1) The economic pressure for British intervention to restore law and order was understandably strong in the Straits Settlements. The vested interests of the Straits traders in tin and trade in the Malay States were at stake, and the commerce of the Settlements was threatened by piracy in the Straits of Malacca. Morever, capital accumulated in the Straits was ready for fresh and wider fields of investment in the Malay States. c.f. Chai Hon-Chan (1964) The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909, Kuala Lumpur, p.3.

those located on the improved communication lines, received fresh impetus and developed into urban centres; the traditional kuala settlements were soon proved to be inadequate for the export function required by the colonial economy; new coastal ports were called into being--Port Weld, Telok Anson, Port Dickson were created while Klang improved upon. Significantly these coastal ports were linked to the two giants, Singapore and Penang, by coasters and steamers. The colonial ports had by now functioned as the supply depot and the headlink for the mining centres. Separated by distance and undeveloped jungle, the colonial ports and the interior centres were linked within the framework of the colonial space-economy.

Singapore And Penang Under Colonial Economy

The 'homeward' swing of the colonial ports after 1874 was evident in the re-orientation of their trade. The total volume of trade with the peninsula was by comparison still small, but the rate of increase was impressive, especially in the case of Penang. Singapore's slower swing points to its heavy trading commitment with Southeast Asia and the metropolitan country. The role as a local centre for Penang and a regional centre for Singapore became clearer, but the increase of trade being dealt with the peninsula by the two ports leaves no doubt as to their relations with the mainland. Penang for instance now received more Chinese and Indian immigrants who were on their way to the peninsula.

It played a greater role as a centre for collection of tin from western Malaya. Cowan's study of 'Early Penang and the rise of Singapore'[1] gives a fair picture.

TABLE 26

Percentage of Trade of Penang and Singapore with the Peninsula

Year	1878	1881	1891	1901	1911
Penang	11(7)	19(12)	27(8)	27(4)	33(5)
Singapore	15(8)	12(7)	13(4)	19(3)	21(5)

Source: Straits Settlements Blue Books, 1878-1911. (Figures in brackets indicate trade with other Straits Settlements).

The figures reveal clearly that, in the case of Penang, trade with Malay Peninsula and the Straits Settlements had become increasingly important, as a result of a close relation between Penang and the peninsula. The tin industry of Perak, the mining in Larut in particular, had been financed, and the export handled, by the merchants in Penang. By 1897, the Chinese enterprise even ventured in the processing of the product--a tin smelter was established on the island. The growing proportion of peninsula trade, however, also implies a decline of Penang's role as an entrepot port for the region.

The increase of Penang's trade with the peninsula, however, does

(1) Cowan, C.D. (1950), 'Early Penang and the rise of Singapore 1805-1832', JMBRAS, 23, Part 2.

not signify that it had recaptured a larger share of the trade. Singapore's total volume of trade was by far greater than that of Penang's.

TABLE 27

Value of Trade (in $'000): Penang and Singapore

Year	1878	1881	1891	1901	1911
Penang	43,872	36,501	81,778	126,353	249,640
Singapore	87,281	128,701	194,738	467,237	525,473

Sources: Straits Settlements Blue Books, 1870-1915.

Singapore's superior position was also supported by a greater number of ocean-going vessels called at its port with larger tonnage.

Singapore retained its economic role as the middleman of Southeast Asia, while increasing its trading relation with the peninsula. In fact, Singapore had gradually increased its commitment as a regional trade centre. This could be seen from the distribution of its foreign trade. (see Table 27)

It is apparent that by the end of the first decade of this century, after about forty years of experience of colonial economy, Singapore and Penang had 'worked out' their relative position with each other and their relation to the peninsula. Singapore had firmly established

itself as the headlink of the entire peninsula, in spite of the fact that Kuala Lumpur had been made the capital of theFederated Malay States; it had also become the chief entrepot port of Southeast Asia, in the face of various rivals (capitals actively promoted by the colonial powers concerned). At home, it stayed comfortably at the top of the urban hierarchy, outdistanding Penang, the older and previously larger colonial port; and Kuala Lumpur, the rich mining centre and the capital of Federated Malay States. Geopolitical as well as locational advantages of Singapore proved too formidable for Penang to match. However, Penang stayed attached to the peninsula and became a centre of local importance. It remained a bridgehead but much weakened as a headlink.

TABLE 28

Singapore's Trade (in %) with Southeast Asia and the West

	Year	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915
IMPORT	S.E.A.	41	47	44	50	52	54	53	58	54	68
	West	31	24	29	27	22	15	17	17	17	13
EXPORT	S.E.A.	48	54	48	51	44	49	45	50	44	42
	West	28	28	30	33	39	37	40	37	44	46

Sources: Straits Settlements Blue Books, 1870-1915.

Penang was by no means an economic backwater. Processing industries such as tin smelting were established in 1890s. There were expansion of small workshops and manufacturing enterprises as well. Nevertheless, it was Singapore which stole the show.

Before the effect of the rubber boom, the urban 'sorting out' process had already set in motion. Mineral wealth, political choice and locational advantages combined to impose an ordering structure on the centres on the mainland. Kuala Lumpur came out top as the political headquarters but Ipoh held on to its prominence by virtue of its strong economic base. As for the three Straits Settlements the battle had long been won by Singapore. We have seen how the trade of Malacca was lost to Penang and the latter to Singapore. The rate of population growth in the Settlements confirmed the resuffling of their relative importance, if population could be taken as an indicator.

From the mid-century, Singapore had overtaken Penang and the gap had increasingly widened even since. Another indication of the changing nature of the ports is the immigrant (mainly Chinese and Indians) proportion of the population. In 1821 the combined population of the Chinese and Indian in Singapore was less than half of the Malays. By 1830 Chinese alone outnumbered the Malays and 1911, the two immigrant groups accounted for more than 80% of the total. In Penang, Malays remained as the single largest group up to the 1850s. However, at the turn of the century, they only made up 26% of the total population. Thus, for

all their economic relationships with the peninsula hinterlands, Singapore and Penang 'continued to develop as foreign enclaves, having less and less in common with the indigenous societies on whose geographical margins they were located'.[1]

However, the days when the ports, serving as naval outposts and midway stations for the maritime trading vessels, maintaining only negative and passing relationships with the peninsula, were gone. The new economic relationships were rooted locally, and mutual in their character. This is evident, for instance, in the development of the manufacturing industries at the ports.

TABLE 29

Manufacturing Industries in the Straits Settlements (1911)

	Singapore	Penang	(Province Wellesley)	Malacca
Food	128	193	327	39
Beverage	18	10	3	-
Textiles	26	16	1	-
Tanneries	17	15	-	-
Industrial Chemicals	14	27	41	124
Other Chemical Products	10	36	33	-
Wood & Wood Products	324	2	4	-
Rubber	-	-	2	-
Potteries	10	1	13	-
Brick Kilns & Lime Works	22	-	19	13
Basic Metal (Tin Smelting)	1	1	1	-
Metal Products, Machinery & Equipment	204	81	-	-
Transport Equipment	8	1	5	-

Source: Straits Settlement Blue Book, 1911, compiled by Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.111.

(1) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.116.

The data are admittedly unsatisfactory, inconsistent and in some cases, doubtful,[1] they do however shed some light on the manufacturing structure on the Straits Settlements at the time. A rough breakdown (not shown in the Table 29) shows some preference. The largest number of the manufacturing wood and wood products in Singapore, for instance, 304 were carpenters' shops. Smithies numbered 194. Also there were thirty-eight melting tallows and twenty-six dye houses. On the island of Penang, the largest groups were engineers, iron and brass founders (81), fish curing (72), bread and biscuit manufacture (51), tapioca manufacture (31). Candle manufacturing and charcoal kilns and depots (27 each) and coconut oil manufacture (24) also figured prominantly. On the mainland in Province Wellesley, tapioca (267), indigo (41), rice (36) and essential oil (33) manufacturing dominated the scene. While in Malacca, gambier manufacturing industry towered the rest. The overall picture was one of the close economic link with the peninsula hinterlands. The large number of manufacturers of wood and wood products in Singapore was not unrelated to the timber industry in Johore. Similarly, the tapioca manufacturing in Province Wellesley and the gambier enterprise

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(1) As pointed out by Courtenay, who compiled the list from the Straits Settlements Blue Books, the data do not give any indication of the relative importance of each works listed, and certain inconsistencies exist also in the collection of the data. The omissions of some items, such as the non-existence of bakers in Malacca and carpenters in Penang give rise to doubt. See Courtanay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.111, footnote to Table III.

in Malacca were apparently linked to the products of their respective surroundings. The concentration of the manufacture of metal products, machinery and equipment in Singapore and Penang indicate presence of advanced technology in urban centres of higher order, especially in Singapore.

Singapore's higher position in the urban hierarchy in terms of functions also began to show since the 1870s. The European merchant houses by then were almost entirely established in Singapore with Penang sharing some of the branches. From then onwards, not only the number of merchant houses had greatly increased, Asian participation had also become a main feature. The number of import-export firms in foreign trade, for instance, had almost doubled with Asians sharing half of the total.

TABLE 30

Import-Export Firms[@]: 1870-1911

Year	European	Chinese	Indian	Japanese	Total
1870	42	9	6	-	57
1890	48	16	21	-	85
1911	56	26	22	3	107

Source: Singapore and Straits Directories, 1880, 1890 & 1911

@ : The figures for the Chinese and Indian firms are probably too low as some of them did not register themselves till the end of the century. See Chiang, H.D. (1970), 'Sino-British Merchantile Relations in Singapore's Entrepot Trade 1870-1915', in Chen, J. and Tarling, N., Studies in the Social History of China & South-east Asia, C.U.P., p.266.

Indicative too is the extension of the nature and area of operation by the business houses. European business houses in Singapore for instance set up new branches and agencies in other regions of Southeast Asia, East Asia and even in Australia. While they were primarily concerned with trade between Singapore and Europe, they also handled a wide range of business, including agents for governments.[1] A sample of six European firms[2] in Singapore gives a vivid picture of their operation:

TABLE 31

Agencies of Six European Firms: 1870-1911

	1870	1890	1911
Insurance	24	49	74
Shipping	1	28	57
Banking	6	7	11
Goods & Others	-	4	144
Managing	2	9	75
Government	1	3	4
Total	34	100	365

Source: Singapore and Straits Directories, 1880, 1890 & 1911.

Singapore was clearly on its way to become a top-ranked central place of Southeast Asia, offering the highest order of services and goods.

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(1) Ibid. pp.253-4.
(2) The six European firms were: Boustead & Co., Paterson, Simons & Co., Gilfillan, Wood & Co., The Borneo Co., and Behn, Meyer & Co.

The increase of agencies in insurance,[1] shipping and 'managing' (agencies of companies operating in Southeast Asia), the marked increase towards the end of the nineteenth century in agencies of foods and drinks (alcoholic beverages, tobacco, flour) and industrial and engineering products (dynamite, machines)[2] indicated the trend. The provision of luxuries (by local standard) and materials for industrial needs pointed to Singapore's active involvement in the peninsula. Its central place function was both regional and local in character, with increasing commitment towards the latter. Remembering that originally Singapore was not set up by the countryside, nor was it established to serve the peninsula, the 'homing' transformation was all the more significant.

It should be remembered however, that the ports of Singapore and Penang were operating within the framework of the colonial economy. Their trade were 'concerned with export of primary commodities produced by foreign capital, management and labour and which only indirectly... touched the indigenous people'.[3] Conceivably, economic activities on

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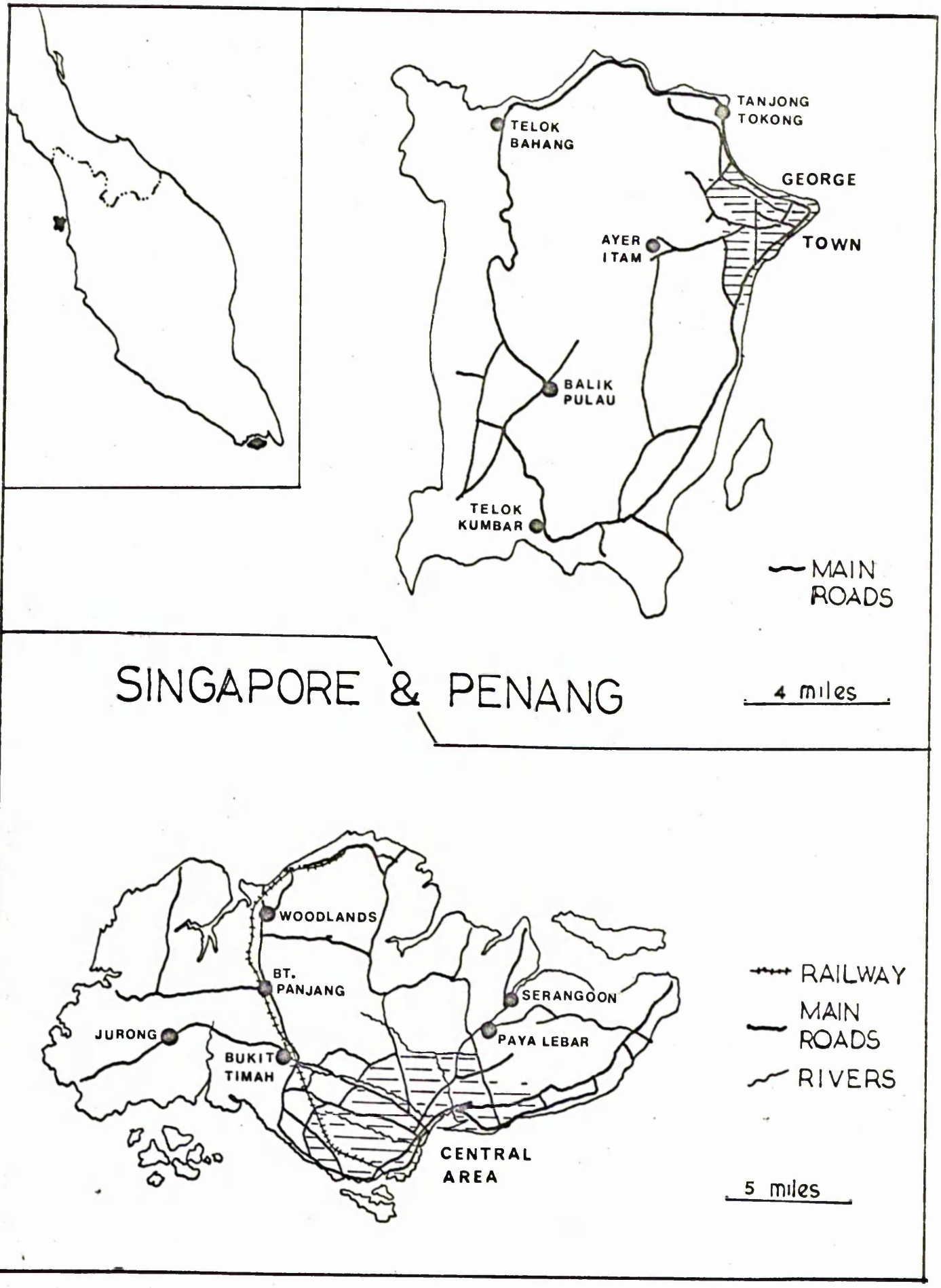
(1) The sample cited here is confined to six European firms. As exemplified in Table 31, Asian participation had greatly increased in the trading institutes. In financial sector, they were not left out. The earliest Chinese bank was established in 1903, the year Singapore issued its own currency, the Straits Dollars. Within ten years two more Chinese banks made their appearance. For details of Chinese banks, see Tan Ee-Leong, (1953), 'The Chinese Banks incorporated in Singapore and the Federation of Malaya', JMBRAS, XXVI, part I, pp.113-8.

(2) Chiang, H.D. (1970), 'Sino-British Merchantile Relations in Singapore's Entrepot Trade 1870-1915', in Chen,J. and Tarling, N., Studies in the Social History of China and South-east Asia, Cambridge University Press, p.254.

(3) Courtenay, P.P. (1972), op.cit. p.108.

Fig. XVIII


TANJONG TOKONG
TELOK BAHANG
GEORGE TOWN
AYER ITAM
BALIK PULAU
TELOK KUMBAR
MAIN ROADS
SINGAPORE & PENANG
4 miles
WOODLANDS
BT. PANJANG
SERANGOON
JURONG
PAYA LEBAR
BUKIT TIMAH
CENTRAL AREA
RAILWAY
MAIN ROADS
RIVERS
5 miles

the mainland were concentrated in the exploitation of minerals and soil, manufacturing in the ports were confined to material procession (such as tin smelting) and secondary industries (such as food and drink). While the provision of commercial and other services was common in the ports and the inland cities, industrialization was denied them. Singapore and Penang or Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh, indeed lines of communication and transport facilities were regulated by the stimulus and the contraints of the export oriented colonial economy.

Singapore And Penang Since 1910

Economic development of British Malaya, as from the beginning of this century, relied solely on two export commodities: tin and rubber, with the latter steadily dominating.

Singapore benefited most from this development. The selling and processing of rubber, and trade in general, tended to concentrate in Singapore, being favourably located and blessed with better facilities. While Penang did not gain as much impetus from the rubber industry as it did during the tin expansion, Singapore received the full force of the new boom, fast becoming the centre of rubber market. With manufacturing, processing and related industries and above all trade, supported by increased capabilities of financial and shipping services, on the increase, Singapore now engaged in many 'basic' activities for its sustained growth, With growing population, it also developed secondary,

or 'non-basic' industries and services to meet internal needs. Armed with city-forming and city-serving industries,[1] Singapore thus possessed a stronger economic base to forge further ahead of Penang, growing from a bridgehead and headlink to become a primate city. The volume of trade and the size of population, both total and urban, confirmed the trend.

Table 32 shows that during the first three decades of this century, the rapid increase of population in absolute number apart, the most salient feature was the faster growth of urban population in Singapore. The index of primacy (the size of the largest city over the next) had increased from two to three. While Table 34 shows on the other hand that the proportion of trade increase in both centres remained relatively unchanged during the same period, Singapore's trade was three times (in terms of value) that of Penang's. (The 1930 figures show a drastic drop in trade as the Great Depression made itself felt, and it was apparent that Penang was harder hit than Singapore). It is also worth noting that while in Singapore the growth of trade was constant till the Great Depression set in; in Penang, there was in fact a drop in trade between 1911 and 1915, when rubber boom was at its height. Apparently, Singapore had captured the lion share of the rubber trade.

As the country moved from the stable stage to prosperity, the

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(1) c.f. Alexander, J.W.(1954), 'The Basic - Nonbasic Concept of Urban Economic Functions', Economic Geography, XXX, 1954, pp.246-61; and Alexanderson, G. (1956), The Industrial Structure of American Cities, University of Nebraska, pp.14-20.

TABLE 32

Population of Malacca, Penang & Singapore

Year	Malacca	Year	Penang	Year	Singapore
1750	9,635	1812	26,107	1821	4,727
1766	7,216	1820	41,220	1823	10,683
1817	19,647	1833	86,275	1833	20,978
1827	33,162	1844	91,978	1836	29,984
1829	30,164	1851	107,914	1840	35,389
1834	29,260	1860	124,772	1850	52,891
1842	46,096	1871	133,230	1860	81,734
1852	62,514	1881	188,245	1871	97,111
1860	67,267	1891	232,003	1881	139,208
1871	77,756	1901	244,094	1891	185,117
1881	93,579	1911	271,376	1901	229,904
1891	92,170	1921	294,215	1911	311,303
1901	95,487	1931	341,375	1921	431,345
1911	124,952	1947	446,321	1931	570,128
1921	153,691	1957	572,100	1947	940,824
1931	186,877			1957	1,445,929
1947	239,356				
1957	291,211				

Sources: Braddell, T. (1861), op.cit.
Newbold, T.J. (1839), op.cit.
S.S. Blue Books.
Census Reports.

TABLE 33

Urban Population of Singapore and Penang (1871-1957)

Year	Singapore		Penang		Index of Primacy
	Urban Pop.	% of Total	Urban Pop.	% of Total	
1871	67,752	69	30,729	23	2.20
1881	95,323	68	44,565	23	2.13
1891	153,043	82	51,627	21	2.96
1901	193,089	84	94,086	37	2.05
1911	259,610	83	101,182	36	2.56
1921	350,355	82	123,069	40	2.84
1931	445,719	78	149,408	41	2.98
1947	679,659	72	189,068	42	3.59@
1957	912,343	63	234,903	41	3.88

Sources: Various census reports.
@: Kuala Lumpur had replaced Penang as second largest city.

TABLE 34

Value of Trade, Singapore and Penang (1915-1957)

(value in $ million)

Year	Singapore			Singapore Penang Ratio	Penang		
	Imports	Exports	Total		Imports	Exports	Total
1911	285.2	240.3	525.5	2.10	131.2	118.5	249.7
1915	338.2	303.9	642.0	2.94	115.0	103.0	218.0
1920	890.1	724.3	1,614.4	2.99	297.6	241.7	539.3
1925	1,001.5	899.9	1,901.4	3.00	326.0	307.2	633.2
1930	519.6	392.6	912.2	3.73	104.5	140.0	244.5
1935	335.6	391.0	654.6	3.14	84.2	124.2	208.4
1940/39	414.9	405.8	820.6	2.01	150.0	257.7	407.7
1949	1,304.7	1,053.4	2,358.1	3.26	297.7	425.4	723.1
1953	2,324.6	1,980.5	4,305.1	3.98	464.1	617.0	1,081.1
1957	4,062.1	3,478.1	7,540.3	5.14	599.6	867.0	1,466.6

Sources:

(1) Annual Reports, Penang Chamber of Commerce (1915-40).

(2) Straits Settlements Returns of Imports and Exports (1915-39).

(3) Singapore International Chamber of Commerce and Department of Statistics (1949-58).

(4) Federation of Malaya Department of Statistics (1949-58).

development of the infrastructure also reached its peak.[1] The railway line had been extended to Padang Besar on the Thai border in the north in 1918 and to Singapore via a causeway in the south in 1923. Significant too was the extension of the East Coast line from Gemas to Kuala Lipis in 1920 and then to Tumpat in 1931. Although the road network in the east coast states did not complete till late 1930s, road link from Johore Bahru to the Thai border was in operation by 1928. The total road mileage in the country may not be high, but the excellence of the road system has been described as 'unique'in the Far East'.[2]

Increasing Domination Of Singapore

Singapore and Penang, as the main ports of the export economy and the commanding nodes of the integration received the full force of the development during these three decades. The process of port concentration continued and intensified throughout this period, culminating in their overwhelming dominance over interior centres and other ports. Up till 1931 for instance, the urban population of Penang (i.e. George Town) was 1.3 times that of Kuala Lumpur, the political capital of Federated Malay States since 1896; and 2.8 times that of Ipoh, the 'tin capital' from 1870s. Klang, the outlet port of

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(1) In the 1920s, the F.M.S. Government spent a quarter to a third of its revenue on railway construction alone.

(2) Allen, G.C. and Donnithorne, A.G. (1957), Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya, London, p.228.

the capital and Malacca, its old rival, were trailing further behind. Standing head and shoulder above the rest, however, was the primate port-city of Singapore.

The extension of the railway and road networks and the spread of rubber plantation to Perak and Kedah, greatly enlarged and enriched Penang's hinterlands. It was Singapore, however, which by virtue of its location and the extension of the transportation networks, richly tapped the vast hinterland. The catchment area of Singapore had, thanks to the East Coast line, extended to the states of Kelantan and Pahang, where on scale much smaller than that of the western coast states, rubber cultivation had been developed. It was Johore which led in rubber plantation. The phenomenal growth of Johore Bahru, Muar and Batu Bahat, reminiscent of Ipoh and Taiping during the 'tin-rush' days, was due to the development of rubber and the transport network. But it was again Singapore, more than any centre in the state itself, which reaped the fruit of the economic expansion.

Thus, with the spatial integration imposed by the transportation network, the growth and decline of the individual towns showed repercussions on other centres throughout the country. The interaction between towns became intensified. Naturally, greater weight was imposed by Singapore and Penang. Hodder, suggested in the 1950s that of the two groups of towns on the mainland of western Malaya, the coastal centres such as Port Swettenham and Malacca, derived their

importance largely from movement between their respective hinterlands and either Penang and Singapore. The second group, the interior centres such as Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh and Kampar, grew up mainly as the collecting and distributing foci of the tin and rubber belt.[1] It could be added that the second group of towns too developed within the functional contraints of the two colonial ports. There is some truth in Murphey's assertion that Kuala Lumpur had never been more than a 'provincial' capital in the colonial period.[2] Singapore, for all practical purposes, had been regarded as the national capital, and its dominance, and to a lesser extent, that of Penang's, had subjected Kuala Lumpur to its 'provincial' status.

Singapore's domination was not confined to the large centres or the nearby towns, its weight was felt right acrossthe board, functionally and as Hodder observes, physically:

> 'Towns at the river mouths--whether along the west or east coast--have one feature of some interest. Nearly all lie on one side only of the unbridged stream and in almost every case to the south...it is true that in some cases the ground is rather higher and more suitable for the settlement on the south side of the river, in many cases the south side has no apparent physical advantage at all. The fact that Singapore lies to the south of the peninsula may have some bearing on the phenomenon'.3

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(1) Hodder, B.W. (1959), Man in Malaya, London, p.78.
(2) Murphey, R. (1957), 'New Capitals of Asia', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 5, No. 3, p.224.
(3) Hodder, B.W. (1959), op.cit. p.79.

Although the domination of Singapore, over the interior centres on the peninsula, was effected chiefly through the transport network overland, its nodal position and large concentration of population was such that it was also the natural headlink of the coastal centres on both sides of the peninsula. Singapore, for example, was one of the centres for import and re-export of salt, and an entrepot in the fish trade with the Malay peninsula and neighbouring countries.[1]

During the Depression and the recovery years, and the first few years after the Second World War, Singapore and Penang stayed on top of the urban hierarchy as the first two cities. Kuala Lumpur soon took Penang's place as the second largest city, which signalled a major reshuffle of the rank-size order of the urban centres. Significantly, Klang/Port Swettenham complex, the outlet of the capital, came to the fore (ranked fourth) while Petaling Jaya and Jinjang, its satellite towns grew from practically nothing to become the medium-sized townships in their own right. This development reflects the changed political and economic situation after the war. Politically, British Malaya was divided into the Federation of Malaya and the the island colony of Singapore since 1948. The communist insurrection soon brought about the 'Emergency'.[2] Economically, Malaya reemerged from post-war recovery

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(1) Firth, R. (1946), Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, p.12, and Fig. 1--Trends of the Fish Trade through Singapore, p.13.

(2) The 'emergency' precipitated the establishment of over 500 'new villages', many of these had population over 1,000 and thus fell within urban' category for census purposes.

and entered into a period of reconstruction and expansion in the 1950s. Both events had far-reaching repercussions on the urban development and the relative importance of the centres within the urban system as a whole.

As a result of the post-war development, the supremacy of the centres of Penang and Singapore, which for more than a century dominated the urban scene and shaped the evolution of the urban system, was being challenged by the interior capital, and in the case of Penang, its port as well. However, colonial economy being what it was, the primate city and the headlink, Singapore, had, for the time being, held fast to its position. Judging from the volume of trade channelling through it in the early 1950s, Singapore's domination was still overwhelming. (See Tables 35&36) Penang on the other hand saw the end of its position as the second largest city in Malaya. Apart from being long overshadowed by Singapore, it was now surpassed by Kuala Lumpur in population, let alone in importance, and its future as the main port of central and northern Malaya was contended by Port Swettenham.[1]

For Singapore, there was no rival in sight, in terms of population and trade. The fact that 38% (in value) of the imports and 42% of the exports of the Federation of Malaya, were channelled through it, over 70% of the trade of the rest of the ports other than Penang and Port

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(1) Ward predicted that without a trans-Malaya road to link Upper Perak with Kelantan to strengthen Penang's ties with northest Malaya, Penang would be supplanted by Port Swettenham even in such distant area. See Ward, M.W. (1966), 'Major Port Hinterlands in Malaya', T.E.S.G., 57, p.250.

TABLE 35

Domination of Singapore in Malayan Trade (1953): Imports

Via	Imports ($M Million)	% of Total	From Singapore	
			Values	%
Penang	464.1	32	21.6	4
Port Swettenham	377.7	26	5.6	1
Malacca	33.9	2	11.9	35
Other ports	128.8	8	94.2	73
Road, Rail, Air	441.2	30	423.3	95
Total	1,445.7		556.6	38

TABLE 36

Domination of Singapore in Malayan Trade (1953): Exports

Via	Exports ($M Million)	% of Total	To Singapore	
			Value	%
Penang	617.0	38	37.6	6
Port Swettenham	349.0	21	62.6	17
Malacca	53.3	3	51.9	97
Other Ports	184.5	11	152.4	82
Road, Rail, Air	394.4	24	373.1	94
Total	1,598.2		677.6	42

Sources: Annual Report, Federation of Malaya, 1953.

Annual Report, Colony of Singapore, 1953.

Swettenham, and more than 90% of imports exports by road, rail and air passed through the sa me port, points conclusively to the overwhelming of Singapore over the entire country. Continued port concentration in the 1950s is reflected in the increased traffic at Singapore harbour as shown in following table.

TABLE 37

Port Concentration at Singapore

	1937-8@	1946-7	1953-4
Vessels Berthed			
Number:	3,231	1,519	3,714
Net Reg. Tons:	9,756,410	4,551,388	10,398,970
Tonnage of Cargo Handled:	3,384,003	2,956,925	5,618,920

@ pre-war highest
Sources: Singapore Harbour Board Annual Reports, 1947 & 1954.

In terms of trade, Singapore was clearly the terminal of road, rail and air traffic for the Federation of Malays, notwitstanding the fact that it was politically separated from the Federation. The assertion of Taaffe and his associates that 'In underdeveloped countries high-priority linkages would seem to be less likely to develop along an export trunk link than along a route connecting two centres concerned in internal exchange',[1] does not seem to hold good here. The development

(1) Taaffe, E.J., Morrill, R.L. and Gould, P.R. (1963), op.cit. p.514.

of communication facilities and the channels of trade all point to a Kuala Lumpur--Singapore linkage. The linkage undoubtedly strengthened Kuala Lumpur's position in the spatially integrated urban system, but above all it enhanced the competition of Singapore, making the latter geographically and economically among the most favoured locations for industry in the whole of Malaya.[1] This ensures that Singapore retained its place at the zenith of the urban system in the wake of the economic reorientation and political isolation.

To conclude, it is clear that Singapore dominated the urban development almost from its inception, and fashioned the evolution of the urban system throughout the colonial period. In the wake of political separation from the mainland, its overwhelming position in the urban hierarchy remained unimpaired. Writing on the eve of Malay's independence, Murphey predicted that:

> 'As a cosmopolitan and wholly foreign-created trading city at the extreme tip of the peninsula, Singapore does not make a good Malayan capital despite its exaggerated urban dominance; but it would find it difficult to play second fiddle to Kuala Lumpur within a single national unit'.2

As it was, Singapore was left outside the national unit when Malaya achieved independence in 1957, but its domination continued.

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.628.
(2) Murphey, R. (1957), 'New Capitals of Asia', E.D. & C.C., Vol. 5, No. 3, 1957, p.237.

Murphey also foresaw at the time that Singapore would continue to grow as its trade hinterland grew with the over-all economic development of Southeast Asia under independent governments, 'especially when a firm modus vivendi is worked out with Indonesia'.[1] Actual development took a different course, for just as Singapore was merged into the Malaysia in 1963s, 'confrontation' with Indonesia instead of modus vivendi became the order of the day. It not only survived the 'confrontation' and later the separation from Malaysia, but managed to forge ahead and created an economic boom (with increasing emphasis in industrialization) of unprecedented magnitude as from the late sixties.

Singapore's development since Malaya's independence and its 'success story' of recent years lie outside the scope of this study. Its continued domination in the urban hierarchy throughout the entire peninsula in the wake of political separation from the mainland (and the nationalist exclusionist economic policy of the Southeast Asian countries as well) demonstrates the strength of its locational advantages and the entrepot trade nurtured by the colonial economy over one and a half century. Although its recent success owes much to efforts made in diversifying the economic activities, and especially in industrialization; it is clear that the viability of an island state with no natural

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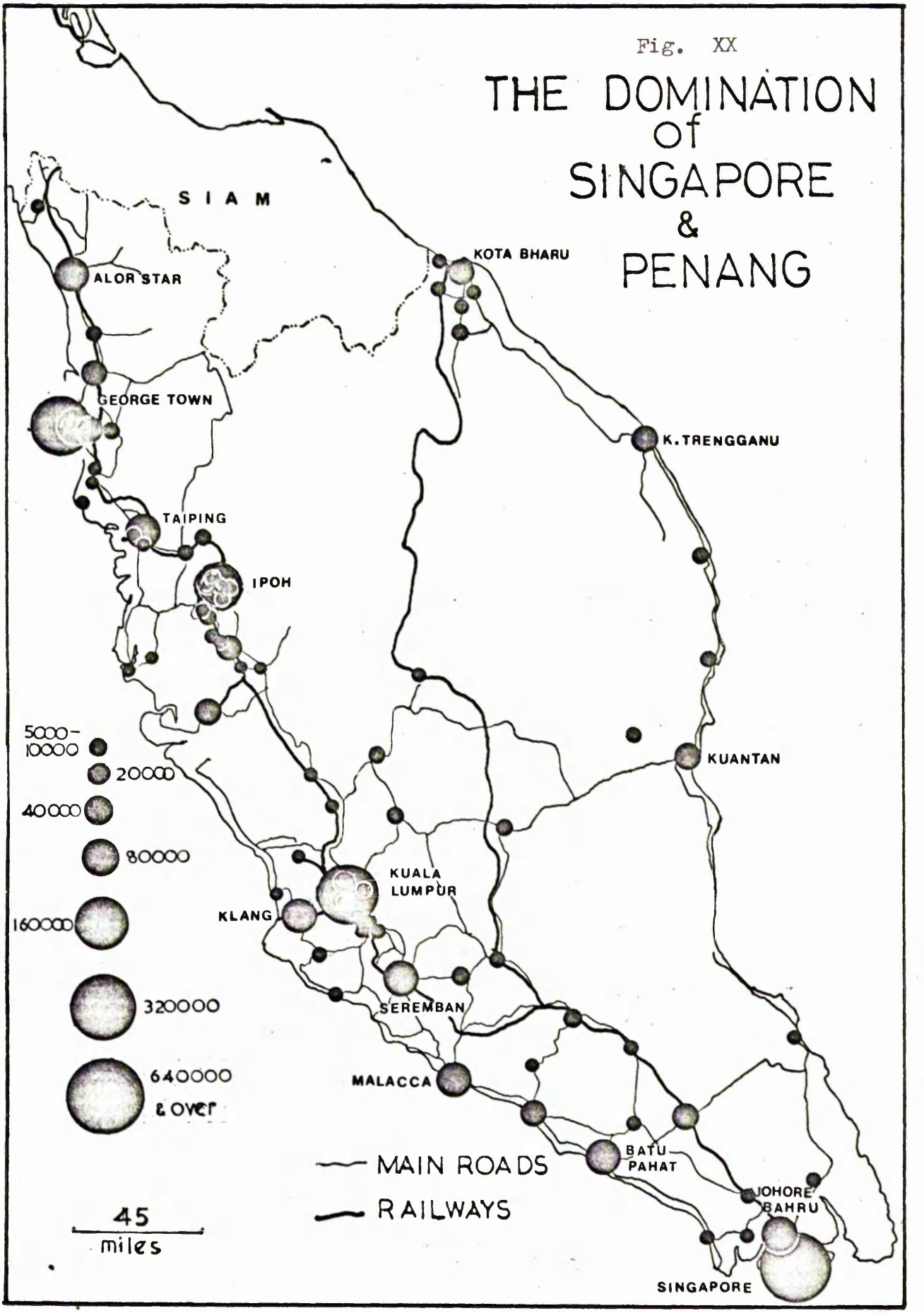
(1) Ibid.

Fig. XX


THE DOMINATION
of
SINGAPORE
&
PENANG
SIAM
KOTA BHARU
ALOR STAR
GEORGE TOWN
K.TRENGGANU
TAIPING
IPOH
KUANTAN
5000-
10000
20000
40000
80000
160000
320000
640000
& over
KUALA
LUMPUR
KLANG
SEREMBAN
MALACCA
BATU
PAHAT
JOHORE
BAHRU
SINGAPORE
MAIN ROADS
RAILWAYS
45
miles

resources and a very limited market, must be tied to its entrepot trade.[1]

Entrepot trade, built up chiefly by the colonial-immigrant efforts, cashing in on the locational potentialities of the island, remained the mainstay of Singapore's prosperity, as well as the integrative element for the island to exert its dominance over the towns and cities across the political boundary, until and after Malaya's independence. The domination could be summed up by the fact that in the mid-fifties, entrepot trade accounted for about half the value of total trade of Malaya and 90% of which was conducted in Singapore and nearly all the remainder in Penang.[2]

So Singapore's domination in the urban hierarchy was very much assured. Viewed from the mid-fifties, the International Bank optimistically predicted that:

> 'In purely economic terms, there is no more reason to expect the displacement of Singapore as a major port

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(1) This is borne out by the fact that after one successful decade of industrialization, a twenty-fold increase of direct export of manufactured products, the need to bring about 'internationalisation' of the island's economic activities is still being stressed. See a speech by Hon Sui Sen, Minister for Finance of Singapore, February 23, 1973. Excerpts in The Mirror, March 5, 1973, Vol. 9, No. 10.

(2) The entrepot trade is broadly defined by the International Bank in this case 'to include all goods that pass through Malayan hands from a foreign source to a foreign destination, even when they undergo some degree of processing on the way'. See The International Bank (1955), The Economic Development of Malaya, The John Hopkins Press, p.128.

> and center of distribution and collection for much of Southeast Asia then there is to expect its displacement as the major port for the Malayan mainland'.1

This optimism has so far been proved justified. The economic viability of Singapore has weathered well the political antipathy and helped keep it on top of the urban hierarchy. Urban system after all is dictated by the space-economy, and until a major re-structuring of the economy is effected, the urban hierarchical order would remain, allowing for the timelag and the physical inertia, relatively unchanged for some time to come.

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(1) The International Bank (1955), op.cit. p.133.

CHAPTER VII

AN OVERALL VIEW

The pattern of urban development and the evolution of the urban system as emerged from the previous chapters could be summarised as follows. Traditionally the Malay Peninsula, notwithstanding its numerous centres dating back to the kingdoms of Kedah and Malacca, had not evolved a system of cities and towns, spatially integrated throughout its length and width. The process of modern urban development and the urban system was initiated by the activities of the immigrants and the expansion of the colonial economy.

In Perak where the immigrants were attracted by the rich tin ore, spontaneous springing up of urban centres took place within a short span of time, resulted in a 'surface' development. In the neighbouring state of Selangor, the mining development with strong political concentration, involving the indigenous, the immigrants and the colonial elements, helped nurse a 'nodal-point' development. The east coast states, physically cut off from main stream of the economic activities and thus away from the 'growth pole', developed at a slow pace. Nevertheless, the traditional settlements, mainly the fishing villages, were spurred into growth and transformation by the ripple of the colonial-immigrant activities. A subsystem of urban centres evolved there.

The overriding importance of the colonial economy in shaping the evolution of the urban system is best manifested by the development of

the colonial ports,Penang and Singapore. The paramount importance held by the colonial ports is due to the fact that the colonial economy is by nature export-oriented and geared to the economic advancement of the metropolitan country. The colonial space economy is thus composed of city-regions with hinterlands engaged in export-oriented production linked to the ports. The hierarchical arrangement of cities and towns inevitably results in the port-cities occupying the commanding heights of the spatial structure. Reaping the fruit of the colonial space economy, the largest of the two, Singapore grew to become the most important strategic nodal point--the primate city in the country.

Although varied in patterns and spatially separated, these developments were not unrelated. The common driving force was the colonial-immigrant complex. It is this complex, operating in varying degrees of intensity, which gave rise to the different patterns of development; but this complex also generated integrative forces which welded together the various urban developments within one spatial framework. In the final analysis, the interior centres, the coastal ports and the colonial cities could not have formed into a spatial urban system but for the transport networks, which were created for efficient functioning of the colonial space economy.

The previous chapters had tried to substantiate the twofold hypothesis that there was no indigenous urban system related to the traditional society on the Malay peninsula in the past; and that the

present-day system of towns and cities in Malaya is largely the product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

Attention had been focussed on areas where forces of this complex were either at their strongest (such as in Perak, Selangor and the port-cities of Penang and Singapore) or at their weakest (the east coast states of Kelantan and Trengganu). On the time scale, the search was confined mainly to the colonial-immigrant period, with the necessary exception as regards the kingdom of Kedak and Malacca.

Separate treatment both in time and space helped throw into relief the various facets of the forces released by the colonial-immigrant complex in shaping the spatial system. The possible danger in this approach lies in the fact that one may not be able to see the wood for the trees. Precaution has been taken to keep in sight the overall development of the individual centres and the evolution of the entire system when examining the progress in different areas. To further ensure the 'wholeness' of the process, it is intended to present briefly the general picture of the development with a view to providing possible 'missing links'.

The rest of this concluding chapter is thus intended to first recapitulate the continuous development in national rather than state context during the period when the urban centres originated and were welded into a spatial system; and secondly to reemphasize the role played by the transportation networks in bringing life into that system and the sorting process centred around the ports of Penang and Singapore within the colonial space economy.

The Beginning

Prior to British acquisition of Penang in 1786, the Malay population of the peninsula found themselves largely confined to the settled village economy--dependent on farming and fishing as dominant way of making a living. The collection of tin and jungle-produce, the marketing and trading of these commodities were peripheral to their subsistence activities. The pattern of settlement was mainly determined by geographical circumstances. The landscape was thus characterized by the landing (farming field) and the kampong (village), which sprung up along the coasts and the rivers. To be close to the sources of fish, and the drinking and irrigation water and the waterways were the reasons for the choice of the coastal and riverine locations. The daltaic and especially the river-mouth (kuala) sites, which enjoyed the added advantages of strategically commanding lines of movement along the coast and the river and of controlling a larger cultivating area, were often chosen as the 'capitals' of the Malay political units--the sultanates, the chieftaincies and so on.

The population, which was small and scattered, living as self-supporting rice farmers and fishermen required very little exchange. The settlements, the product of this peasantry subsistence economy, were necessarily simple in form, few in number and far between. Even the kuala-capitals of the river-states had the appearance of the ordinary kampongs, the difference between the two was in size rather than in kind.

These settlements were therefore far from being central places where exchange and trading took place. They manifested characteristics of the village agglomerations rather than urban settlements. Nor were these settlements the forerunners of the urban centers which came into being with the arrival of the immigrants and mining activities.

The period between the founding of Penang (1786) and the extension of British to the Malay states (1874) may have seen little change in the basic population of the peninsula, it certainly ushered in a new era in the development of human settlement in Malaya.

The pouring into the peninsula of the immigrants and the development of the large-scale tin-mining drastically changed the economic landscape of the country. The subsistence settled village economy was being eroded and superimposed by the externally oriented commercial and exchange economy which required, among other things, an urban base. As the immigrant economic activities spread, new agglomerations sprung up and some (only some) of the original villages were transformed to perform functions required by the new economic activities. These new agglomerations and the transformed villages were to develop into urban centres.

The establishment of the Straits Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Malacca and the subsequent development of the first two, had the effect of fashioning the growth and the rank-size pattern of the urban centres in Malaya in later years. Singapore and Penang had in due course

developed to become the largest port-cities in the country and dominated its economic life in many aspects.

Penang was acquired by the British in 1786 originally to develop into a great trade centre and a naval harbour. The naval harbour project never became a reality, but Penang did grow into an important entrepot port, commanding the Malacca Straits and the trade-route to China. Trade and population grew hand in hand and soon surpassed Malacca and became the premier centre of the British settlements in Malaya, until the rise of Singapore.

Modern Singapore was founded in 1819. Better situated for trade with Siam, Indon-China and China as well as the Malay archipelago, and relatively free from pirates, Singapore first annihilated Malacca's commerce and in 1822 captured most of Penang's trade. In ten years time, it halved the trade of Penang island. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 greatly enhanced Singapore's position as the chief entrepot port not only of the peninsula but also of the entire region of Southeast Asia. It had since stayed on top of the urban hierarchy and developed as the primate city of Malaya.

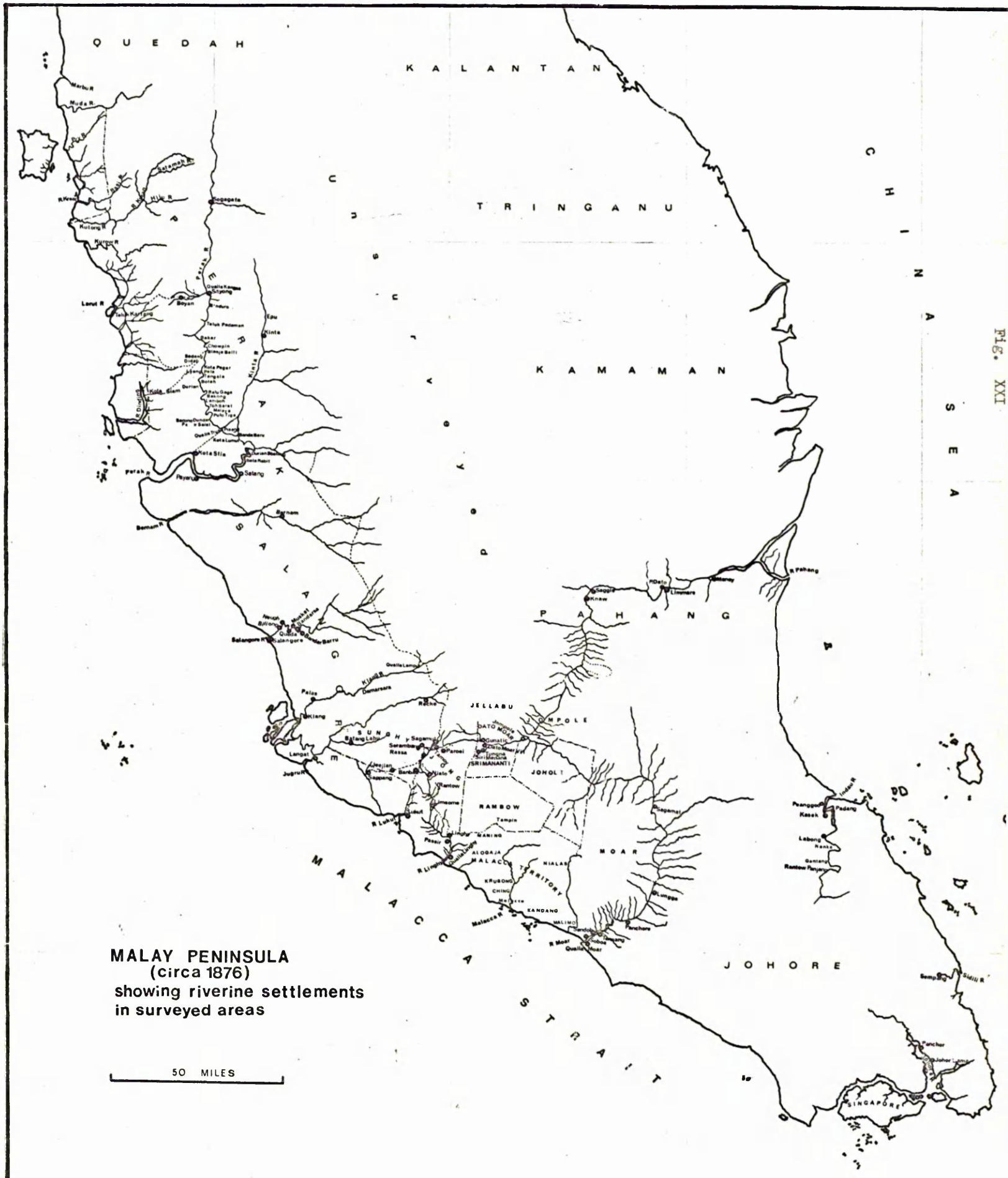
The combined forces of Singapore and Penang subjected Malacca to further decline. When it was handed over to British in 1824 to become a Straits Settlement, the old emporium had lost most of its importance, and the small, rapidly silting harbour had reduced further her ability to compete with Singapore and Penang as the size and draught of ships

increased.

These two Straits Settlements, with varying vicissitudes of fortune, were the first true modern urban centres which appeared on the scene, and formed the original scaffolding of the urban system which shaped and conditioned other centres which followed.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, British activities were confined to the Straits Settlements. The Chinese immigrant however had, after the acquisition of Penang, and particularly from 1820s onward, been active in the interior. Large-scale Chinese immigration into Sungei Ujong, Selangor and Perak in connection with the tin-mining was being organized by the Chinese merchants in the Settlements. The mining activities had largely been confined to the Chinese, and the mining areas normally lay outside the traditional Malay settlement. The Malays only took part in small-scale tin-mining as a part-time employment. Nevertheless, the export of tin brought profit to both the Chinese merchants and the Malaya chiefs who received incomes for letting out mining-land and tolls on the river trade in both directions. The money-based economy and commercial activities were thus introduced into the rural kampongs. Specialization of production which were essential to urban development, though slow and rather insignificant, began to emerge.

What is more important is the appearance of a new form of settlement--



MALAY PENINSULA
(circa 1876)
showing riverine settlements
in surveyed areas

50 MILES

Fig. XXI

the mining camps and later, mining settlements. The settlements (one of these was Kuala Lumpur) grew into important urban centres and in the process, changed the economic landscape in no small manner. First, tracks and paths were needed to convey the ore to the waterways to be transported to the coastal ports. These were broadened when mining increased to become roads--cart-roads or bridle-roads. Secondly, as the miners did not farm, nor did they manufacture tools; food, mining equipments and other essentials had to be imported, shops and traders were called into being to serve the purposes. The mining settlements thus acquired some urban functions, though very rudimentary, almost from their inceptions. Some of the kuala sites, connected to the mining settlements in the interior, were converted to serve as the outlets for the mineral produce and the foci or break-of-bulk points for the imported goods. Where no kuala site was in the vicinity, new ones had to be 'created'. A limited hinterland was in the making around each of these coastal settlements.

The immigrants and their mining activities threw up groups of mining settlements which nursed the kuala sites into coastal ports of sort. Together interior centres and the coastal ports constituted the second major structural frame, parallel in significance in later years to the Straits Settlements in the evolution of the urban system in Malaya. These new mining-based centres differed in many ways as compared with the Straits Settlements. Smaller in size but greater in number, closely spaced

and located (except the coastal ports) in the interior, they were able to exert a stronger impact on the rural economic landscape in the 'tin-states', and later the western coast of the peninsula.

However, the mining activities, which provided the economic base for the early stage of the urban settlement in the interior, soon brought about some disruptive effects which in turn handicapped the further growth of these settlements into urban centres. Urban development of a new level had to await the extension of the British rule to the interior in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The years between 1874 and the first decade of the present century, witnessed the rapid growth both in number and in size of the mining centres in Malaya. The establishment of the Pax Britannica and the restoration of peace paved the way for economic development. The development of mining centres received new impetus as a result, and benefited greatly from the expansion of mining industry, the increase of population, the tremendous improvement of the transport network and the conscious planning and development of townships. The forces of the colonial-immigrant complex were now in full swing.

The expansion of tin-mining was phenomenal. In 1870s Malaya ranked only as the fourth largest producer of tin in the world, by the 1880s she became ... preeminently the largest world tin producer. In 1890s

Malaya produced more than the rest of the world combined. Though the overall production had not increased tremendously due to competition from other parts of the world and the international restriction schemes since 1904, Malaya still produced one third of the world's total.

Rubber growing was experimented towards the end of the nineteenth century, but the rapid expansion was to take place in the twentieth century, particularly after the use of pneumatic tyres for motor vehicle. From 1910s onward Malaya emerged as the most important provider of natural rubber.

Urban development from 1874 till the first decade or so of the twentieth century set against a very favourable background with the improvement of transport network providing additional impetus. The improvement of communication took the form of river-clearing, road-building and railway construction. Railway proved to be the most effective means of tin-transport at this stage. Between 1885 and 1899, all the major tin towns and districts on the central west coast of Malaya, were linked up with their respective ports. (Taiping with Sapatang (later Port Weld), Ipoh and Tapah Road with Telok Anson, Seremban with Port Dickson, and Kuala Lumpur with Port Swettenham) Export of tin-ore and import of tin-mining equipment, foodstuff, and goods required by the mining industry were greatly enhanced. By 1904, with a direct line from Prai (opposite Penang) running through the major mining towns and districts right up to Malacca, all the mining

centres in Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan were linked up longitudinally. At this time, rubber planting was already in full swing and most of the rubber estates were located along the lines. By 1909, the line pushed southward to Johore Bahru, followed by rubber plantation.

The development of road system was also under way. Prior to railway days, road constructions were to link up mining centres with rivers, and through the rivers to the sea-coast and from the sea-coast to the ports of Penang and Singapore. These were the 'feeder routes' focussing on the major ports and interior centres giving rise to a sort of hinterland piracy that permitted the major ports to enlarge their hinterland at the expense of adjacent smaller ones. With the advent of railways, road was constructed to link mining centres with the railway lines instead of the rivers. Lateral interconnection began to develop. By 1911, Prai was linked by road to Malacca, and Kuala Lumpur with Kuantan, traversing the peninsula horizontally. The national trunk-link routes or 'main streets' began to take shape.

All these developments stimulated urban growth, and brought into focus the need for conscious planning and developing of urban centres. Attempts were made in this direction, as manifested in the laying out of townships and the establishment of Town Sanitary Board. The Town Sanitary Board was set up in 1890, taking charge of the amenities required

by the growing townships--such as the planning of sites, building regulations, drainage, water supply, street lighting, upkeep of roads and houses, the administration of the market and the provision of public medical service.

The conscious laying out of townships was typified by Taiping and Kamunting, both in the mining areas of Larut. The picture was entirely different from the mining settlements of the previous century which bore the stamp of the over-grown villages.

Individual towns grew tremendously as exemplified by the growth of Kuala Lumpur. The population rose from 4,000 in 1884 to 25,000 in 1895. The growth of population led to the development of shops and business. In that year, Kuala Lumpur was chosen as the administrative headquarters of the Federated Malay States and linked by railway to Klang and the surrounding mining districts, and later on to Perak and Johore. In this connection, what is true of Kuala Lumpur is partly true of other major mining towns in the country. Of course, being the capital of the F.M.S. Kuala Lumpur was unusually favoured by the concentration of administrative functions. Some of the functions performed by the town were unmistakenly 'central' in nature.

Development Up to World War II

The urban development between 1911 and before the Second World War was subject to the influence of various factors unknown to the previous

periods. First and foremost

> 'The introduction of a great agricultural industry... /which/ changed the face of the country and forced the government into the rapid extension of practically all public services, railways, roads, posts, telephones, telegraphs, water supplies, hospitals and many other conveniences...'1

The urban centres were of course the main beneficiaries of the new development. This development was accompanied by political and administrative centralization and economic integration, which tilted the balance strongly in favour of the capital state as against the rest as well as accentuated the difference between the western half of the country and 'the further side of silence'. Admittedly strong centralization was desirable as far as effeciency and economy were concerned, the advantage was offset by the loss of state initiative and individuality.

It was complained in the early days of centralization that in the general rush of development, bringing with it increased prosperity, and discontent with the highly centralized bureaucracy at Kuala Lumpur, development of other areas seemed to have been forgotten. Although a compromised formula of curbing over-centralization was introduced which allowed the administrative centre for most subjects to shift away from Kuala Lumpur to the state capitals, but railways, customs and excise and posts and telegraphs remained under the federal control from the

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(1) Swettenham, F.A. (1906), British Malaya, p.350.

capital. The effects of centralization on urban development were clearly shown in the differences of growth rates of the centres in Perak and Selangor.

The economic integration took the form of closer ties developed between the commercial interests of the Straits Settlements and the planting and mining interests of the F.M.S. through the activities of the big managing agencies and other commercial houses with their headquarters in Singapore. The tendencies toward integration had its roots in the financing of the mining industry in the Malay states by the merchants in the Straits Settlements and the smelting of the tin products in Singapore and Penang, the profits of both were used in developing roads and railways and the rubber plantations which in turn enabled Singapore to become the greatest rubber market in the world.

The establishment of the F.M.S. and the closer economic link between the F.M.S. and the Straits Settlements had the effect of integrating the western two thirds of the country while alienating the 'further side of silence':

> 'In a very real sense, therefore, pre-war Malaya, in spite of its seven separate governments, was already one country and the major regional differences which existed there lay not between the S.S., the F.M.S. and the five unfederated states, but rather between the western tin and rubber belt, stretching from Singapore to southern Kedah, with its highly developed economy, elaborate communication network and numerous towns inhabited mainly by alien immigrants, and the largely undeveloped eastern two-thirds of the peninsula, including Pahang and eastern Johore as well as Kelantan

> and Trengganu, where the traditional subsistence economy and rural settlement pattern of the Malays remained for the most part unaffected by foreign intrusions'.1

The completion of the East Coast railway line from Gemas to Tumpat in 1931 and the earlier road link between Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan were not able to change the vast differences between the two parts of the country, which remained the outstanding features in the geographical pattern of pre-war Malaya. The implications of the economic integration on the one hand and the east-west division on the other in relation to the urban development, could be seen in the emergence of an integrated system of towns and cities in the western section of the country and the fragmentary developments of subsystems on the east coast centered around Kota Bharu and Kuantan respectively.

Another factor which had direct bearing on the urban development during this period was the changing nature of demorgraphy.

Until the Great Depression in the 1930s, immigration was unrestricted and indeed actively encouraged by the British as a necessary means to development. The Chinese continued to pour in to trade and to work in the mines in great numbers, and this was followed by the flow of the Indians into the rubber plantations beginning at the turn of the century.

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(1) Fisher, C.A. (1966), op.cit. p.602.

The immigrant population, mainly the Chinese and the Indians, had since 1921 outnumbered the Malays, including all Malaysian immigrants and this was followed in the 1930s by a more important fact: a growing proportion of Chinese was beginning to settle permanently in Malaya. This was perhaps more truly reflected in the urban development than in other aspect of the national life.

The feat of towns springing up was long over, and those which were called into existence or upgraded into the status of towns were more of a central place in character, and they were there to stay. The demographic structure of the existing urban centres had undergone substantial change with growing stable sex and age balance. So did the physical appearance and functional diversification of the urban centres with town planning authorities taking charge and more urban functions added to the old ones.

The urban development was not speeded at an even pace throughout the period from 1911 to the eve of Second World War. The economic development of the country on which hinged the urban growth, underwent several fluctuations during this period. There was a period of colossal growth before the outbreak of the First World War, followed by a decline during the first two years of the war. The upward swing in the following years led to a boom in post-war period. The boom was short-lived and was soon over-shadowed by brief slump which lasted till 1923. The nest few years

saw a strong upward tendency reaching the peak year in 1926, then the great depression of the thirties began to close in, which had its worst years between 1931 and 1933. The situation returned to normal only after the second half of the thirties.

The money earned by rubber and tin during the good years were spent lavishly which gave fresh impetus to the urban development. Before the post-war slump in the early twenties:

> 'The Civil Service had enlarged beyond recognition, splendid public buildings and other works had been built at many points, and elaborate railway system stretched from Singapore to Bangkok, and a network of first-class roads was spreading throughout the peninsula. In brief, a structure comparable in scale and efficiency with that existing in the advanced countries of the West had been built up out of the returns from rubber and tin'.1

As expected, the expansion was urban-based, the concentration of services and necessary facilities to accommodate them were at many 'points' while the railways system and the roads were for the linking of these points--a national urban system began to take shape in the western half of the country. The east coast states, Kelantan and Trengganu in particular, were relatively inaccessible and thus removed from the main stream of development. The urban development in these states during this period were by comparison with the western coast, slower in pace, smaller in

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(1) Emerson, R. (1937), op.cit. p.156.

scale and relatively isolated from one another, as well as cut off from the main system of the country.

The period between the post-war slump and the great depression of the thirties, witnessed another upward swing of the urban development in the country. Unlike the early phase of the urban development, which was mining-based, and the second phase of growth which thrived on agricultural expansion with strong support from the mining industry, urban population of the third phase of development were according to the census, 'produced mainly by centralization of administrative, supply and transport services required by a rural population, and by organizations for the marketing of the materials produced by the rural population'.[1]

In short, the forces which produce the central places elsewhere were at work more forcefully than ever before. A slower but a more controlled pattern of urban development was the expected order of the day. The census in fact predicted that the increase of the urban percentage which reflect the level of development and economic organization of the community, would slow down and be overtaken by the growth in the rural component once the community reached a certain level, for

> 'in a community in which the function of the urban component is essentially to administer and serve a rural producing component the former component

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(1) Vlieland, C.A. (1932), op.cit. p.43.

> naturally increase at first faster than the latter, as the economic system passes from a primitive to a more highly organized and evolved stage...Singapore had reached that level and the older-developed parts of the Federated Malay States seemed to be nearing the critical point'.1

During this period location of the fastest growing towns had obviously shifted from the tin-producing areas to the newly developed agricultural areas and areas with concentration of administrative functions. Seremban and Kuala Lumpur during the 1911-1921 period while Klang, Bandar Penggaram, Alor Star and Butterworth in the next decade illustrate the tendency as contrast to the previous fastest growing towns of Ipoh and Kampar.

Wide variation of the growth rate suggested a host of factors which determined the urban development in the country. In the 'tin-states', however, the closing of mines slowed down the increase of urban population of the mining towns, while the introduction of modern labour saving machinery also caused reduction of the miners. On the other hand, the boom of the rubber industry gave strong impetus to the growth of the towns favourably located, the depression in the mining industry undoubtedly swelled the population of other towns.[2]

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(1) Ibid. p.45.
(2) Nathan, J.E. (1922), Census of British Malaya, 1921, London, p.38.

Malayan tin production underwent a very slow growth during the 1900's and 1920's. The prices of tin, however, had grown higher, despite violent fluctuation at times. At the same time, the market prices of raw rubber in the 1920's dropped drastically,[1] but it was somehow offset by enormous increase in rubber production, resulted from the increase of planting a decade or so ago when the demand and the prices were favourable. The 'land of promise' as Malaya was thought of at the turn of the century, experienced a period of 'slowing down' in its economic development. So was the urban development of the country. The wealth accumulated over the last few decades, however, was able to sustain a continued growth.

The Prai-Padang Besar line was completed in 1928 while the East Coast line, from Gemas to Tumpat, was completed in 1931. By 1928 a road running from Singapore to Perlis was in use. Together with the impressive road construction of the past three decades, Malaya was now in possession of an unique road system. Supported by the continued development of communication network, the urban growth, though less rapid than in the last thirty years, was still impressive, as indicated by the 1931 census, shown in Tables 38 and 39 .

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(1) The drastic fall of price of rubber in the 1920s generated a wide-spread fear of the collapse of the Malayan Chinese economics--affecting not only the rubber estate owners, but also the shop-keepers, merchants, and traders.

TABLE 38

Number of Towns with Population over 1,000
(1911 - 1931)

	over 1,000			1,000-5,000		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	15	14	17	12	11	12
F.M.S.	40	47	72	33	38	58
B.M.@	66	81	123	51	62	93

TABLE 39

Urban Population (as % of total)
(1911 - 1931)

	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	56.9	59.5	60.7
F.M.S.	21.5	22.4	25.4
B.M.@	25.0	27.7	29.5

Source: 1931 census.
@: British Malaya.

Until the first decade of this century, the tin-mining industry had been the main support of the economic base of the urban-generating process. Since the 1910s rubber industry played an increasingly important part in the 'city-building' functions. Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh, the two largest centres in the interior, which owe their origin and early growth to tin-mining, grew in the 1910s and 1920s as a result of the phenomenal

development of the rubber-growing. Seremban, Telok Anson, Klang and even Malacca all showed marked growth in the 1910s when the rubber industry was flourishing and a relative retardation when the industry suffered a setback in later years. Political and administrative functions too began to exert their influences on the expansion or otherwise of the urban centres. Johore Bahru, Bandar Penggaram, Kota Bahru and Kuala Trengganu were at an advantage of being the capitals or the administrative centres of sort, though the first owed its growth more to the rubber plantation. Bandar Maharani, on the other hand found itself being dwarfed by the neighbouring Bandar Penggaram which was the centre of the district of Batu Pahat.

The change of the development pattern and the interrelationships between the urban centres since the establishment of the Pax Britannica can be recognised. When the waterways were the major form of transport, the kuala sites or the locations at the confluence of two rivers, possessed additional advantages over their interior centres (these advantages were reinforced if the sites happened to be the 'capitals' of the political units). This explains perhaps the dominating position held by Port Weld, Telok Anson, Port Dickson, Port Swettenham and even Batu Gajah at the turn of the century.

Once the lateral interconnection was established, the reliance on the kuala port as the outlet by the interior centre was reduced. While the expansion of the mining industry and the rubber cultivation brought

about new impetus for the growth of the interior centres, the kuala ports, with little economic base of their own, found themselves lagging behind. The gravity of urban development, apart from the Straits Settlements, shifted from the coast to the interior. Taiping, Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur and Seremban's rapid growth and the relative slow development of the respective ports--Port Weld, Telok Anson, Swettenham, Klang and Port Dickson illustrate this tendency. The port-cities of Singapore and Penang had however, thanks to the nature of colonial space economy grown in size and importance. The development of the transport network, especially the longitudinal railways and trunk-line, supported by many feeder routes, placed them at the receiving end of the 'hinterland piracy', at the expense of other smaller ports.

The growth of Malayan towns might begin to be determined by different factors at this juncture, there was however, one element common to all of them. The cities and towns were no longer confined to their isolated surroundings and were brought closer to one another by the greatly improved network of communication. They now constituted points of the spatial economic system, and their growth and retardation were intimately related and interwoven. The forces underlying the city-system described by the rank-size rule and the central place theory were at work.

Urban development in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s was set against a gloomy background, yet the rate of growth in terms of population increase was formidable. (See Table 42) The rate was perhaps not as impressive as that of the 1911-1931 period, but it was astonishingly high as the Great Depression and the War as well as the Japanese Occupation were thought to have caused a 'flight back to the land'.[1]

The growth was so marked that it was said to represent 'an approach to the maximum degree of urbanization in a country with the kind of economic typical of Malaya'.[2]

Apart from the general urban growth, certain features stood out prominently which pointed to the direction of development. First, the larger towns with their surrounding areas, had drawn large population into them during the years between 1931 and 1947. Of the twenty-three towns with population exceeding 10,000, only two (Kampar and Port Swettenham) had increased by less than 20%. Eleven towns showed increases of between one-and-two-thirds, five between two-thirds and 100%, and three had more than doubled themselves in size. Even Penang had an increase of 26.5%, in spite of the advanced stage of its development.

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(1) The Japanese Occupation caused a collapse of the mining and the rubber growing economy of Malaya which together with the stopage of food importation (mainly rice) forced the urban population to take a flight to the rural areas. The 1947 census was taken after the occupation and the return to the urban centres of the population.

(2) Del Tufo (1949), op.cit. p.44.

TABLE 40

Population Changes in Urban Centres (1911-1957) of 10,000 & over

Urban Centre	Population in thousands				
	1957	1947	1931	1921	1911
Kuala Lumpur	316.2	176.0	111.4	80.4	46.7
Georgetown	234.9	189.1	149.4	123.1	101.2
Ipoh	125.8	80.9	53.2	36.9	24.0
Johore Bahru	75.1	38.8	21.5	15.3	9.4
Klang	75.6	33.5	20.9	11.7	7.7
Malacca	69.9	54.5	38.0	30.7	21.2
Alor Star	52.9	32.4	18.6	11.6	6.3
Seremban	52.0	35.3	21.5	17.3	8.7
Taiping	48.2	41.4	30.1	21.1	19.6
Butterworth	42.5	21.3	13.5	4.1	4.0
Batu Bahat	40.0	26.5	13.3	6.4	3.2
Muar	39.1	32.2	20.3	13.3	5.0
Kota Bharu	38.1	22.8	14.8	10.8	12.5
Telok Anson	37.0	23.1	14.7	10.9	6.9
Kluang	31.2	16.0	6.5	1.4	-
Kuala Trengganu	29.4	27.0	14.0	12.5	14.0
Bukit Mertajam	24.7	12.3	5.3	3.9	4.4
Kampar	24.6	17.5	15.3	12.3	11.6
Kuantan	23.1	8.1	5.5	2.5	2.1
Sungei Petani	22.9	13.2	7.7	4.6	-
Ayer Itam	22.4	13.5	2.3	1.2	-
Bentong	18.8	7.1	4.0	4.1	-
Segamat	18.5	7.3	4.3	1.3	-
Kulim	17.6	9.5	5.8	3.6	-
Jinjang	16.7	-	-	-	-
Petaling Jaya	16.6	1.5	-	-	-
Raub	15.4	3.6	2.2	1.4	1.2
Sungei Siput	15.3	6.0	3.2	2.5	2.0
Kuala Kangsar	15.3	8.4	6.0	3.4	2.2
Guntong	15.1	-	-	-	-
Pasir Pinji	14.0	4.3	-	-	-
Dungun	12.5	4.3	-	-	-
Temerlor	12.3	5.2	1.1	-	-
Kuala Pilah	12.0	7.3	4.0	3.0	1.7
Batu Gajah	10.1	7.5	6.8	5.1	3.8
Serdang Bahru	10.0	-	-	-	-

Sources: Census Reports, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1947 & 1957.

TABLE 41

Rates of Population Increase of Individual Towns (10,000 & over)

1931 - 1957

Urban Centre	% of Increase		Urban Centre	% of Increase	
	1931/47	1947/57		1931/47	1947/57
Kuala Lumpur	57.6	80	Kuantan	-	186
Georgetown	27.2	24	Sungei Petani	70.4	74
Ipoh	52.8	55	Ayer Itam	494.4	66
Johore Bahru	81.6	93	Bentong	-	166
Klang	60.8	126	Segamat	-	153
Malacca	43.2	28	Kulim	-	86
Alor Star	75.2	63	Junjang	-	-
Seremban	64.0	47	Petaling Jaya	-	-
Taiping	36.8	16	Raub	-	325
Butterworth	57.6	100	Sungei Siput	-	157
Batu Bahat	99.2	51	Kuala Kangsar	-	83
Muar	59.2	21	Guntong	-	-
Kota Bharu	52.8	67	Pasir Pinji	-	-
Telor Anson	57.6	61	Dungun	-	194
Kluang	145.6	95	Temerlor	-	138
Kuala Trengganu	92.8	9	Kuala Pilah	-	65
Bukit Mertajiam	134.4	100	Batu Gajah	-	36
Kampar	72.0	41	Serdang Bahru	-	-

Sources: Census Reports, 1931, 1947 & 1957.

TABLE 42

Urban Population: Rates of Increase

1931 - 1947

Singapore Municipality	52.5%
Total Urban Population - Federation of Malaya	55.7%
Total Urban Population - Malaya	60.2%
Total Population - Malaya	34.5%

Source: 1947 Census

The second salient feature is the unevenness of the urban growth. This was due to the changing economic circumstances, and was more evident as regards the less important towns. The increase ranged from 25% to over 100%, with towns in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Johore and Kedah leading in this trend.

The third outstanding feature being 'the fantastic rate of growth of the female component of the population of the larger towns' which, for the twenty-two towns combined had increased from 396,425 to 731,794 or by 84.6%, between the census years. The improvement of the overall sex-ratio, which rose from 609 to 845 females per thousand males, went a long way to stabilize the urban population.

Lastly, as had always been, the urban population was dominated by the Chinese, who constituted rather less than two-thirds in the Federation and over three-quarters in Singapore. The Chinese and the Indians made up three-fourths of the urban population of the Federation and four-fifths of that of the whole country.

Attention however should also be directed to the increased urbanization in Trengganu, a predominantly Malay state, along the east coast. The significance of this is twofold. The steep rise of urbanization in Trengganu signalled a new element in the urban development in Malaya--the increase of Malay urbanization, which was to loom larger in decades to come. Secondly, urban development in Malaya had hitherto been largely confined to the west coast of the country. The development in Trengganu

fell far short to rectify the imbalance, it,however, with the urban growth in Kelantan had enlarged the spatial pattern of urban growth and brought the east coast closer to integrated urban development of the country.

The urban development in the east coast states in general and the rise of urbanization in Trengganu in particular, were partly brought about by the growth of fishing industry and the improvement of communication, as a result of the development of fishing towns. The factor which brought the isolated states and their urban centres nearer to mainstream of economic development of the country was undoubtedly the improvement of the transport network--the East Coast line was completed in 1931, road construction in the 1930s took place principally in the east coast states, and by 1939, a coastal road running nearly the length of Trengganu and linking it with Kelantan was in use.

Post-War Development

Urban development of the post-war Malaya had to be seen in the light of the twin needs of rehabilitation and adjustment to the new economic and political conditions of the country. A vast programme of reconstruction was required for the reestablishment of tin and rubber industry. Transport and communications and social services had to be restored. The experience during the Occupation had also brought home the need for economic diversification--in the direction of industrialization

and self-sufficiency in food supply. These led to a measure of planning hitherto without precedent in the country. More people were drawn to the urban centres as a result of the concentration of government investment activities in, and the operation of such activities from, these centres. Even the establishment like Rural and Industrial Development Authority and Federal Land Development Authority intended primarily for rural development, have all housed in the federal capital with branches in other urban centres.

However, the main factor of the astonishing urban growth was not the concentration of government or the industrialization, during the 1947-1957 period. Fell was at pains to make this point clear. He observed in the 1957 census report that the total population between the census years rose by approximately 28%, the urban population increased by the astonishing figure of 105%! He continued,

> 'This is in sharp contrast to an increase of 13.3% in the numbers economically active, and an increase of only 7.5% in the numbers engaged in manufactures. Undoubtedly, the expansion of manufacturing industries, and economic activity in general have played a very minor role in post-war urbanization'.1

Nor was the immigration the cause of the growth any longer. Since the war the role played by the immigration in Malayan population increase was negligible. The phenomenal increase of urban percentage must be due

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(1) Fell, H. (1960), 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report 14, Kuala Lumpur, p.7.

almost entirely to internal movements of the Malayan population. The single largest factor in the urban development had been the political conditions in the country, the outbreak of an armed communist revolt, which gave rise to the Resettlement scheme, resulting in the shifting of half a million dispersed and scattered rural population into the 'New Villages' planned as defended areas. The Resettlement scheme physically transformed the face of the settlement pattern of the peninsula, converting great stretches of rural landscapes into new towns and villages.[1]

A total of 440 villages were established, a third of which was confined mainly within rubber estates, coconut plantations, tin-mining locations and forest areas leased for timber exploitation. Not all the villages however, were new additions to the landscape; 284 villages were entirely new, 186 villages grew from the nuclei of previously existing settlements.

Hasty planning and primary consideration for military contingence had resulted in some of the new settlements being badly sited in terms of economic requirement and having the appearance of the 'shanty towns'. However, resettlement involved the establishment in addition to houses and small holdings, of shops, a dispensary, a school, post office and

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(1) As the 1947 and 1957 censuses accepted agglomeration of over 1,000 inhabitants as towns, most of the New Villages (the average number of people in each of them was approximately 1,200), under the resettlement programme came within the urban category.

market place, and the provision of public amenities and services. The New Villages or shanty towns did possess some urban functions.[1] The settlements built on the edges of the existing towns or villages had the effect of 'swelling' the size of the old centres or upgrading the status of the villages into townships.

The impact of resettlement was most profound in two areas as regards the urban development. In Kinta valley, the resettlement operation resulted in the creation of twenty-six new settlements each containing more than 1,000 persons, and the formation of six defended and replanned suburbs of existing towns. Thus the area which in 1947 had only sixteen settlements of more than 1,000 inhabitants each, had in 1952 come to be urbanized district with forty-two settlements of the same size with enlargements to existing towns. In Johore, which had been remarkable for its stretches of road barren of any township, sixty-five new towns and villages came into being, most of them strung along the inland road and railway line. A cluster of these settlements located in close proximity to Johore Bahru 'promised to form satellite towns or possibly a conurbation in view of the rapid growth of that state capital'.[2]

Although the resettlement programme had been the main contributary factor in the post-war urban development up to the Independence, the old pattern of urban growth--especially in terms of size and spacing had not

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(1) At least, the settlements so created had the quality of the 'agro-towns', with quasi-urban functions, not uncommon in the undeveloped world.

(2) Dobby, E.H.G. (1952), op.cit. p.173.

altered much. The 1957 census gives a fair picture:

TABLE 43

Urban Population by States, 1957

(Gazetted Areas 1,000 Population and Over)

States	Total Pop. (thousand)	Urban Pop. (thousand)	% of Urban to Total	
	1957	1957	1947	1957
Federation of Malaya	6,278.8	2,668.0	26.5	42.5
Johore	926.9	377.8	22.6	40.8
Kedah	702.0	162.8	13.8	23.2
Kelantan	505.5	115.0	7.9	22.7
Malacca	291.2	84.4	26.3	29.0
Negri Sembilan	364.5	119.4	22.3	32.8
Pahang	313.1	127.6	14.4	40.8
Penang	572.1	366.9	56.2	64.1
Perak	1,221.4	600.6	29.5	49.2
Perlis	90.9	8.6	9.0	9.5
Selangor	1,012.9	611.6	38.3	60.4
Trengganu	278.3	93.3	23.5	33.5
Singapore	1,445.9	912.3	72.5	63.1

Source: 1957 Census.

The rate of growth in terms of urban population was very high indeed. (The nation's urban percentage in 1931 was 29.5, while in 1947 it was 35.1 and in 1957, 42.5 in the Federation alone.) It is perhaps arguable

that the degree of urbanization was unduly exaggerated, for the acceptance of 1,000 as the qualifying figure included most of the New Villages created by the resettlement programme. However, even if the figure was raised to 10,000 as is shown in Table 44, the urban growth was still apparent in every state and the figure for the Federation alone stood at 26.5%, it rose to about 34% if Singapore was included. This was the highest in Southeast Asia and next only to Japan in the whole of Asia.

TABLE 44

Urban Population by States, 1957

(10,000 & over)

States	Total Pop. (thousand)	Total Pop. (thousand)	% of Urban to Total	
	1957	1957	1947	1957
Federation of Malaya	6,278.8	1,666.3	15.9	26.5
Johore	926.9	202.4	15.4	21.8
Kedah	702.0	93.4	8.2	13.3
Kelantan	505.5	49.4	5.1	9.8
Malacca	291.2	69.8	22.8	24.0
Negri Sembilan	364.5	64.0	13.2	17.8
Pahang	313.1	69.6	-	22.2
Perak	1,221.4	305.3	17.1	25.0
Penang	572.1	324.5	52.9	56.7
Perlis	90.9	-	-	-
Selangor	1,012.9	435.2	32.7	43.0
Trengganu	278.3	52.8	11.9	19.0

Source: 1957 Census.

The trends during 1947-1957 period were obvious in two directions. First, the period witnessed an impressive though uneven growth of all the well-established towns. Secondly, it was characterized by the emergence of a considerable number of towns whose population were not known (an indication of their negligible size) or the urban areas did not exist at the time of the previous censuses. In either case, the Emergency was the main contributing factor. Nevertheless, the growth of secondary industries, which had enlarged to include oil mills, shoe factories, pinapple cannery, saw-mills, ice and aerated water, biscuit factories, wood and furniture making, etc. were responsible to some extent for the development of Kuala Lumpur, Kluang, Johore Bahru, Butterworth, Klang, Port Swettenham and of course the new town of Petaling Jaya.

Some of the tendencies in the urban development during the 1931-1947 period were intensified in the post-war years before Independence. The overall sex-ratio of the urban population continued to improve though substantial differences existed between the main racial groups. The proportion of females to males in the Malay community fell slightly, but the Chinese community, for the first time in history had almost achieved the parity in numbers between males and females. Though the sex ratio of the Indian population had improved, it was still characterised by a heavy preponderance of males. The accelerated growth of the smaller towns, the decline in the rate of growth of the larger ones with

TABLE 45

Racial Composition of Urban Population by States

1911-1957 (1,000 and over)

States	Malaysians					Chinese					Indians				
	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957
Fed. of Malaya (British Malaya 1911-1921)	17.8	16.0	19.2	21.1	22.6	65.0	66.6	59.6	62.3	63.9	12.9	13.8	17.8	13.8	10.7
Johore	40.3	33.3	29.3	28.3	23.8	49.2	52.9	56.7	61.4	67.4	6.7	10.8	10.9	8.3	6.0
Kedah	36.0	30.8	33.1	33.3	32.7	52.3	51.4	48.3	52.6	54.7	6.5	16.2	16.9	13.1	10.9
Kelantan	88.2	78.9	69.3	66.2	80.1	9.0	15.0	22.8	27.5	16.8	2.1	4.8	5.9	4.7	2.1
Malacca	24.3	21.6	18.3	15.4	14.8	60.4	65.0	67.3	72.9	74.7	6.5	7.3	8.9	8.1	7.4
Negri Sembilan	14.4	9.1	10.2	13.7	17.7	64.1	68.5	62.7	63.1	64.8	16.4	18.0	20.7	7.4	12.4
Pahang	23.3	16.3	25.3	23.9	25.5	57.3	66.1	52.2	61.1	64.8	15.9	15.0	20.8	11.2	7.1
Penang	15.6	15.0	15.0	13.8	13.7	62.9	64.8	64.0	69.9	70.6	17.4	17.1	17.9	14.4	13.7
Perak	11.5	10.4	11.4	13.5	14.1	67.2	66.2	65.6	67.4	71.5	19.1	21.4	20.8	17.0	12.1
Perlis	35.9	26.8	42.0	33.3	43.5	47.8	55.9	45.2	56.5	46.5	8.2	13.7	9.9	9.1	9.0
Selangor	10.7	9.0	11.1	12.5	14.4	67.4	63.1	61.3	64.8	66.1	18.1	24.2	22.5	17.9	14.4
Trengganu	91.7	87.2	81.5	82.0	81.4	7.8	11.3	15.5	15.5	16.2	0.1	0.6	2.1	2.0	1.8
Singapore	10.7	9.8	9.8	11.1	13.0	74.7	77.9	76.4	78.7	77.0	9.4	7.9	9.3	7.2	8.0

Sources: Census Reports, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1947 & 1957.

outstanding expansion of the new political capitals, was increasingly marked, symbolising a new pattern of urbanization in the country.

More remarkable however, was the speedy rise of Malay urbanization. True, the percentage of Malays in town was still the lowest, the rate of increase however was now the most rapid of the three communities. Table 45 speaks for itself.

By and large, the increase of Malay urbanization was most marked in those states where Malay population predominated. Trengganu and Kelantan, the two states with Malay population largely engaging in fishing came to the fore. Elsewhere the Malays prefered the small towns (of less than 25,000 inhabitants) where the features of the rural kampongs were present. This brings into focus the changing tendency of the Malays who used to live close to, but were rarely part of the main social and economic development in urban settlement. Perhaps the influence of the money economy too had now lured the Malays to participate actively in the industrial and commercial sectors of the national economy. The impact of Malay Nationalism, which found its expression in the rapid increase of Malays in the civil service and political appointments, on the urban development in the country had begun to be felt. This was borne out by the development of Kuala Lumpur as a 'central city' with increasing Malay domination.[1]

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(1) McGee, T.G. (1971), The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Explorations in Search of a theory, London, p.154.

On the eve of Independence, urban development had thus reached an advanced stage. The immigrants' activities and the British rule, in short the colonial-immigrant complex, had brought about far-reaching changes in the economic and political conditions of the country which generated and fostered the growth and development of the urban centres. In keeping with the economic development which acquired a considerable specialization, the centres grew in size and function, and when these centres were linked up by a more advanced transport network, they formed the nodes of the spatial economy. A system of cities had thus emerged.

Over decades the system had evolved some order of importance among themselves, basing on the productiveness of the site and its hinterland, the favourable location for interregional or international trade, and the levels of political importance or the combination of these. Big centres became fewer but bigger and sparcely spaced with medium-sized towns, bigger in numbers and more closely spaced, scattered around each of them. More numerous were the smaller towns, located nearer to each other, functioning in one way or another under the shadow of the larger centres. An urban hierarchy exerted itself in some areas in a stepped arrangement and in other, a progression of population size was visible. The post-war military operation which artificially created a considerable number of towns or quasi-urban centres which further complicated the situation but

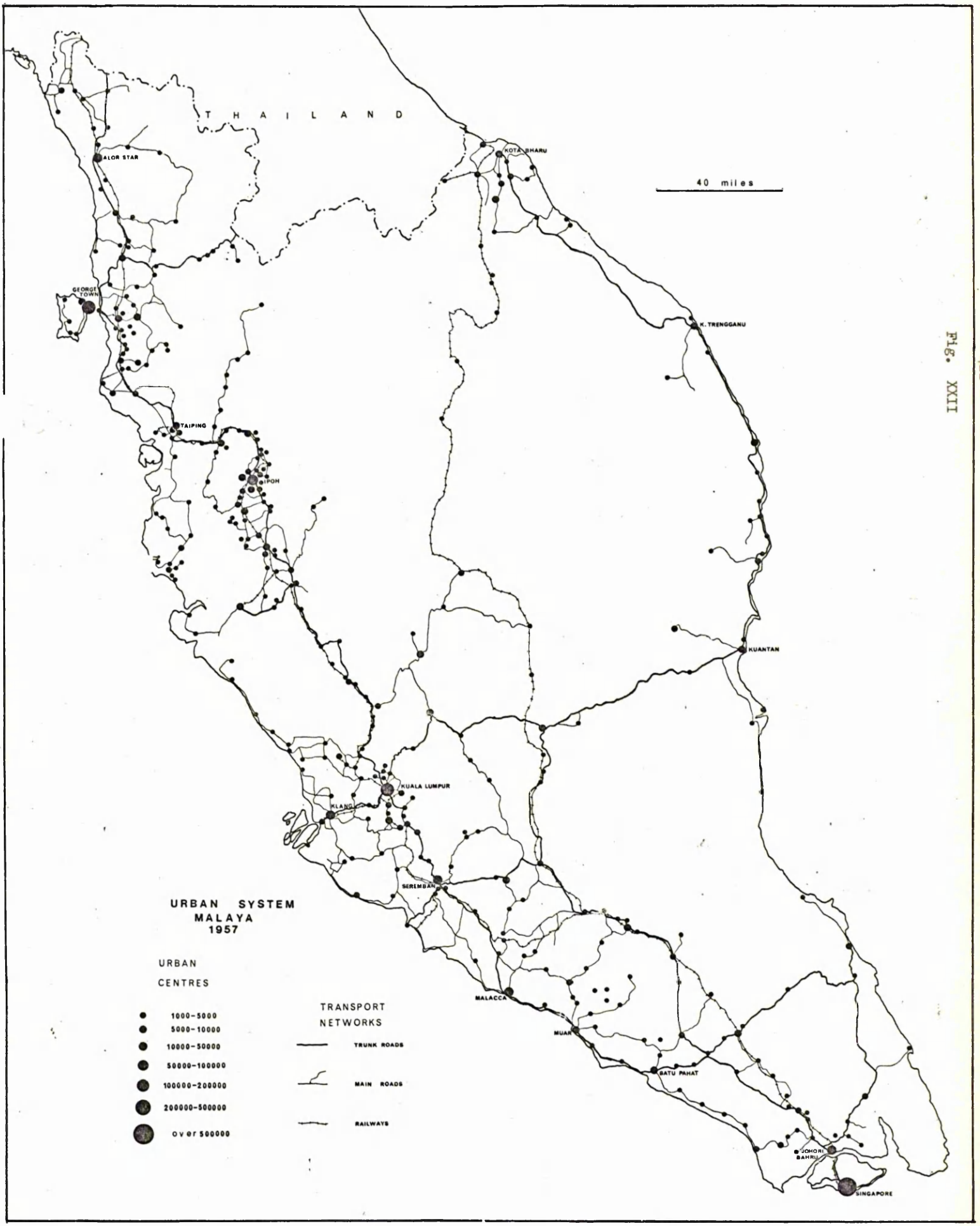

THAILAND
ALOR STAR
KOTA BHARU
40 miles
GEORGE TOWN
K. TRENGGANU
TAIPING
IPOH
KUANTAN
KUALA LUMPUR
KLANG
SEREMBAN
MALACCA
MUAR
BATU PAHAT
JOHORE BAHRU
SINGAPORE
URBAN SYSTEM
MALAYA
1957
URBAN CENTRES
1000-5000
5000-10000
10000-50000
50000-100000
100000-200000
200000-500000
over 500000
TRANSPORT NETWORKS
TRUNK ROADS
MAIN ROADS
RAILWAYS

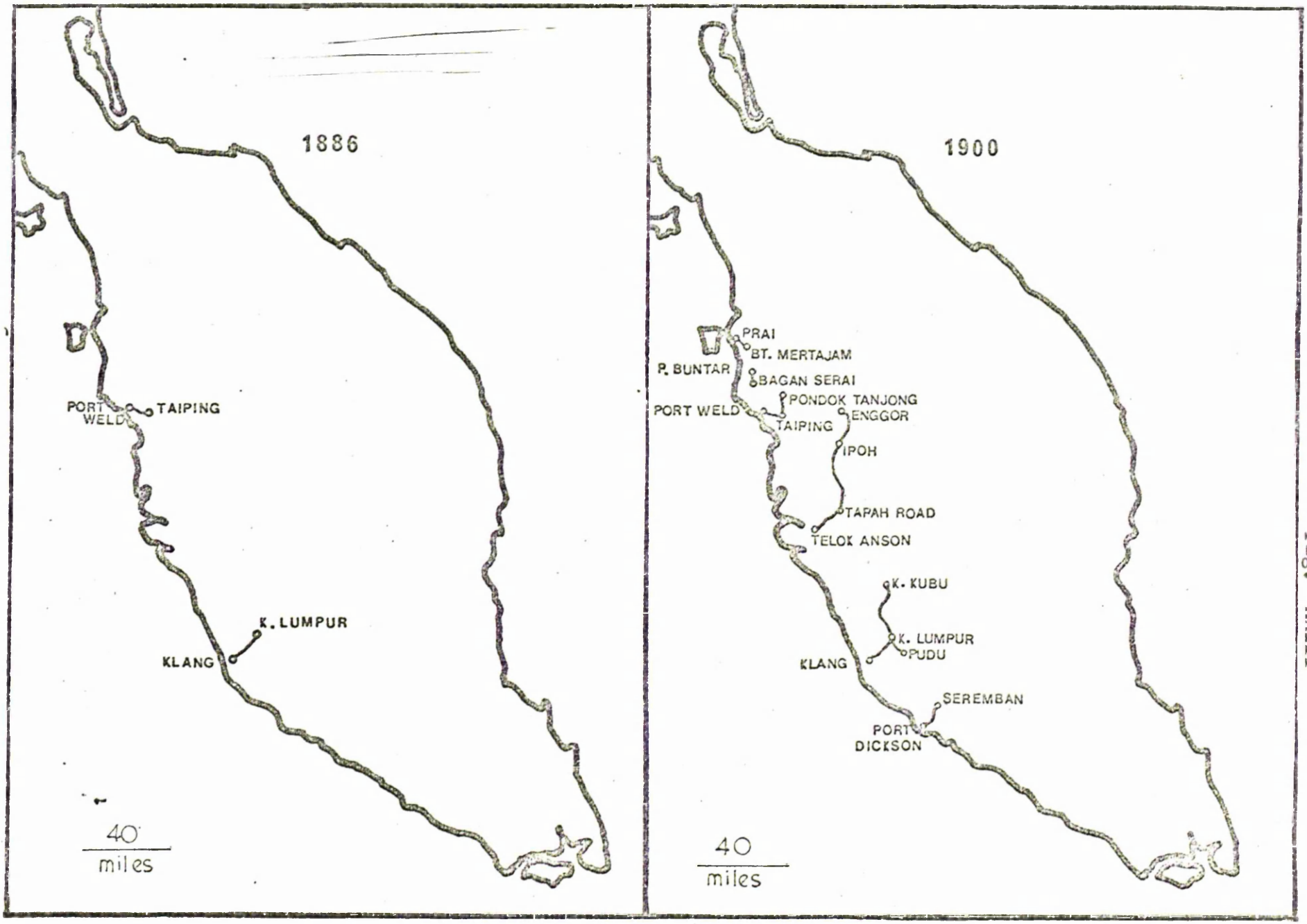
Fig. XXII

had not changed the basic pattern of the urban system which was regulated by the spatial economy functioning through the transport network.

On the whole, the urban system did not develop upon an indigenous urban base nor in response to social, political and economic forces operating before the advent of the immigrants and the British. A traditional system of cities, evolved from the agricultural society, through development of specialization and exchange, did not exist, although the urban development on the east coast, where impact of foreign elements was less, was in a sense more traditional. The present system of cities emerged as a result of the mining activities and commercial cultivation within the framework of a colonial economy which provided the necessary infrastructure for its development. The system is in short the product of the colonial-immigrant complex.

The Transport Networks

An urban system requires more than the nodal points. The transport network is essential in injecting 'life' into its spatial dimension. The integrative force and the spatial interaction of the nodal points, both the colonial ports and the interior centres, operate through lines of communication. The working of the central place theory and the rank-size rule, that is, the hierarchical arranging of centres, becomes effective only when the spatial link exists. To a significant degree, the transport network is both the cause and the effect of a spatially integrated urban system. The emergence of a national urban system requires the emergence of a national transport network.



DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS

1886 - 1900

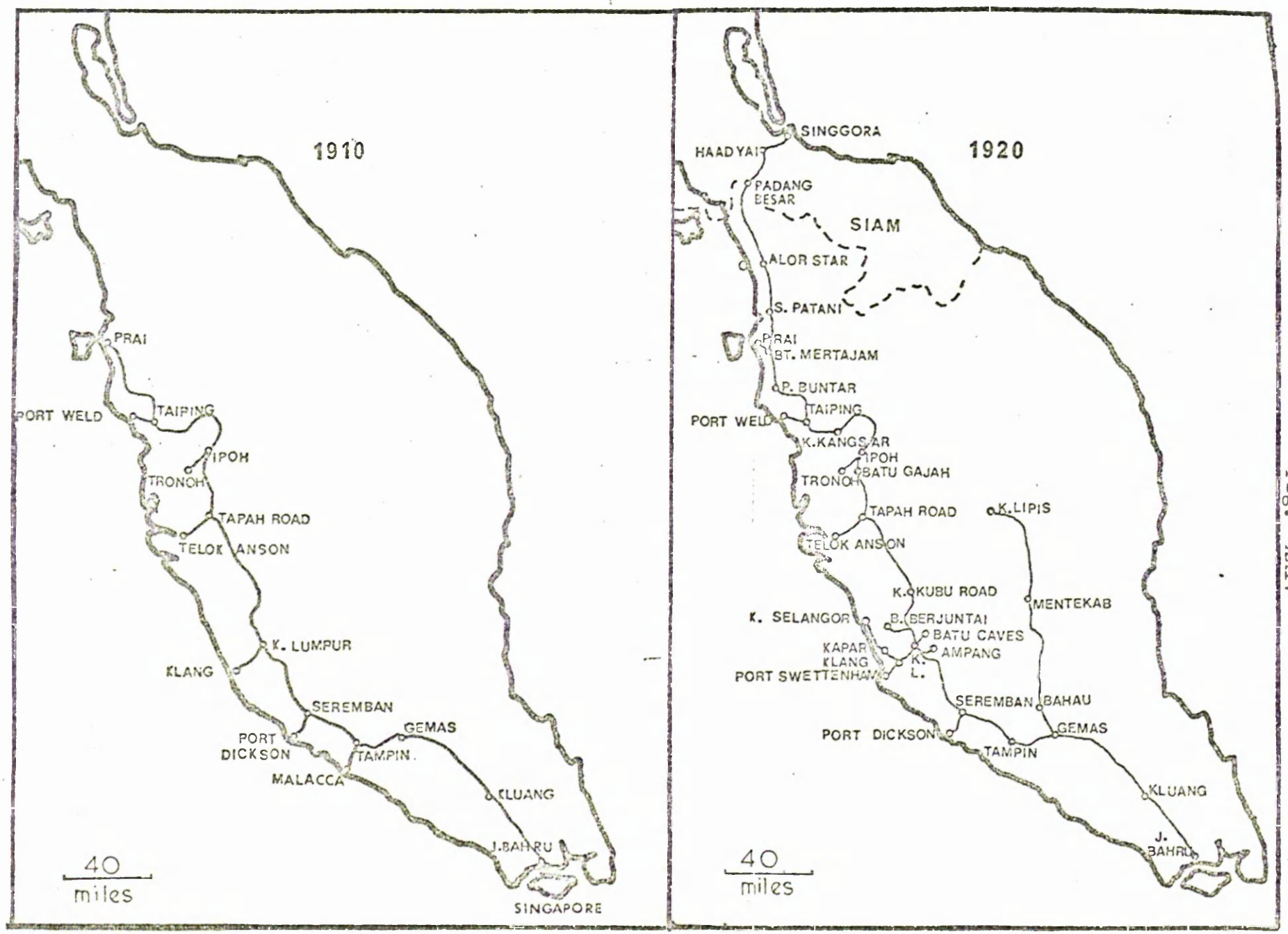
Fig. XXIII

The development of the railway and road networks has been touched upon. In view of its operative importance on the development of the individual towns and above all, the evolution of the entire urban system in the country, some of the crucial points are worth reemphasizing.

Following the construction of the four short lines (Port Weld--Taiping, Klang--Kuala Lumpur, Port Dickson--Seremban and Telok Anson--Ipoh) the interior mining centres and the coastal ports became spatially linked and economically interdependent. The interior centres depended heavily on the nearby coastal ports as outlets, the accessibility to which was an enormous advantage and a vital factor in their growth. The coastal ports on the other hand thrived on the resources of the immediate hinterland, they assumed an importance at times out of all proportion of their own economic strength. The coastal ports and the mining centres thus shared a period of development and prosperity brought about by the mining industry.

With a north-south line joining the inland mining towns constructed, the coastal port-mining centre relationship began to loosen up. By 1903 when the line extended northward to Prai, opposite Penang, and southward to Seremban, the capital of Negri Sembilan, smaller and less equipped coastal ports (such as Port Weld) were partially by-passed.

When the extension stretched right down to Johore Bahru, opposite the island of Singapore, with a branch connecting the declining but still important port of Malacca from Gemas, all the mining centres in



DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS

1910 - 1920

Fig. XXIV

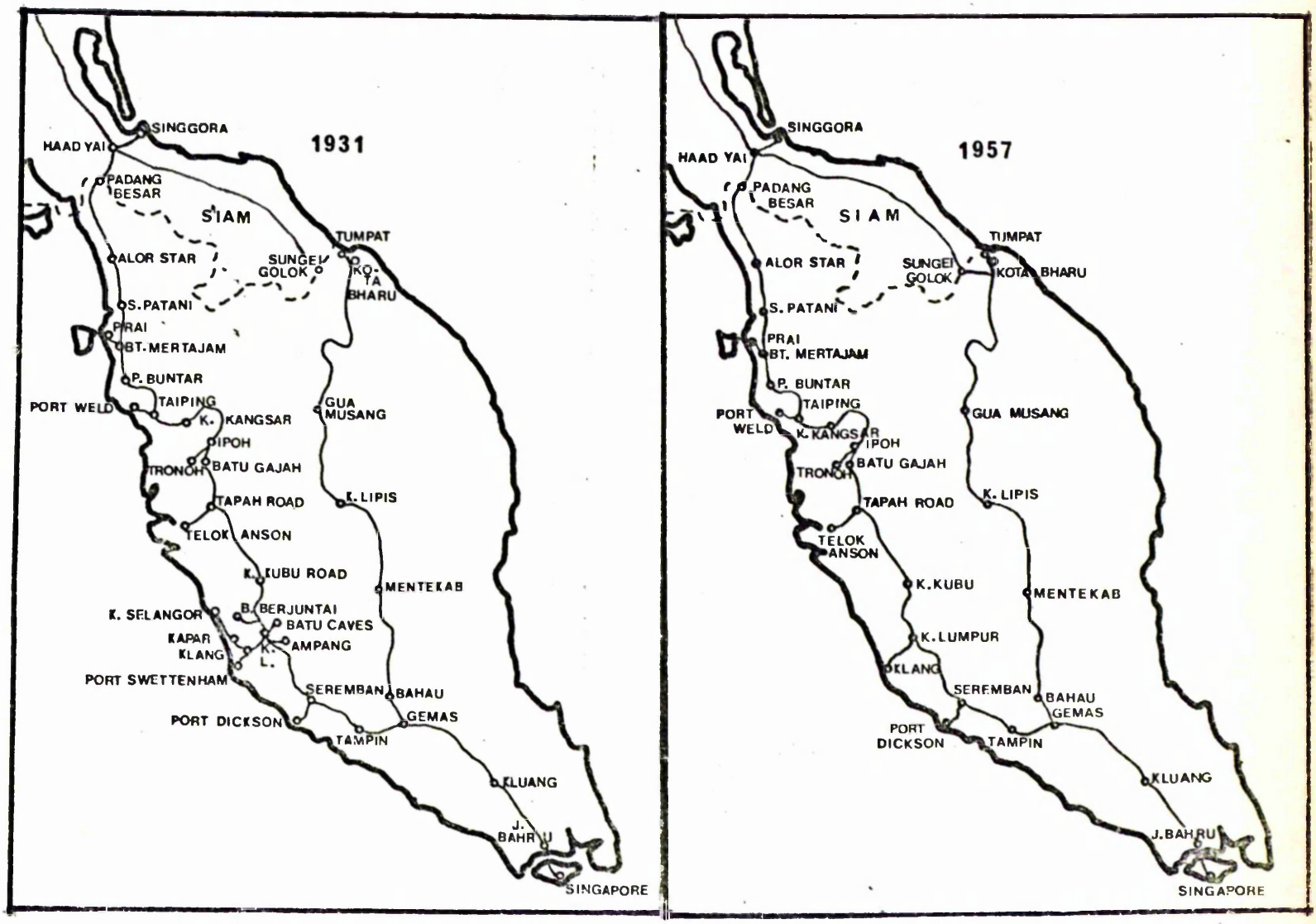
Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, were linked up longitudinally, and all the three Straits Settlements, two of them Singapore and Penang, the largest all-important port-cities, were brought into contact with major towns by railway network.

A structural realignment of the spatial links between the urban centres was effected which reduced further the reliance on the nearby ports by the interior towns and forged stronger link between the centres located on the transport line. The centre of gravity thus shifted inland, and the weight of the two island colonial ports, Singapore and Penang, was brought to bear on the inland development, with resultant pattern more akin to the rank-size distribution than ever.

The importance of the railway network in relation to the evolution of the urban system cannot be overemphasized. The longitudinal national system of railway had not only linked all the major centres in a spatial structure, reorientated their external relationship with other centres but also enlarged the economic base of the individual centres. Rubber planting was already in full swing in the country when the national railway system was underconstruction. With the completion of the system a modern form of transportation required by the rubber industry was provided for. Large areas of land were cleared on both sides of the line for rubber estates, in all the states. Rubber planting and trade therefore followed whenever the railway line went.

Situated along the line, many a town grew in size and in importance,

Fig. XXV



DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS

1931 & 1957

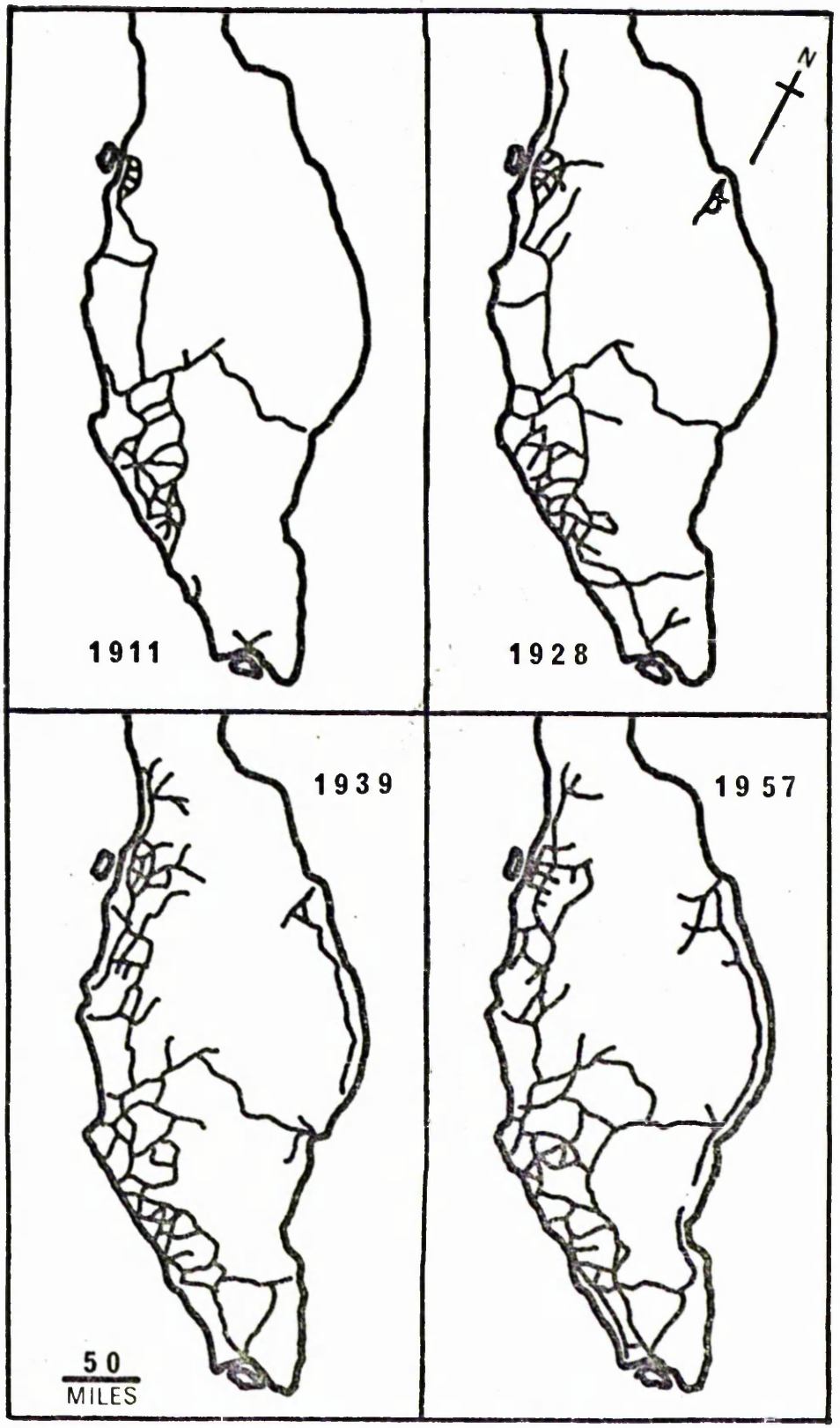
with an enlarged economic base, thanks to tin, rubber or both or simply a railway junction location. The phenomenal growth of towns during the tin rush and the rubber boom bore witness to this.

The railway transport network, however took on a national significance only in the 1930s when both the lines were extended to the east coast states. Prior to that, the railway network was confined to the narrow strip of the western coast where the urban nodes scattered within a corridor-centred economic landscape.

Road development was less impressive till the introduction of motor vehicles in 1902. Although the forerunner of the present main trunk road, linking the major towns along the western belt of the country could be traced to cart road in 1885 running from the northern border of Selangor to its southern boundary, with connection linking road system in the states of Perak and Negri Sembilan, the significance of road transport was limited and localized.

National trunk-road or 'main street' developed later than the longitudinal railway, and the feeder roads focusing on the mining centres and the coastal ports were built to supplement the railway network. With the wide-spread use of motor-cars, road development was accelerated. And by the end of the first decade of the present century, elaborated local networks of road had made their impact on the central states of Selangor, Negri Sembilan and around the Straits Settlements of Malacca and Penang. Singapore was still inadequately served by road with the

Fig. XXVI



DEVELOPMENT OF ROADS

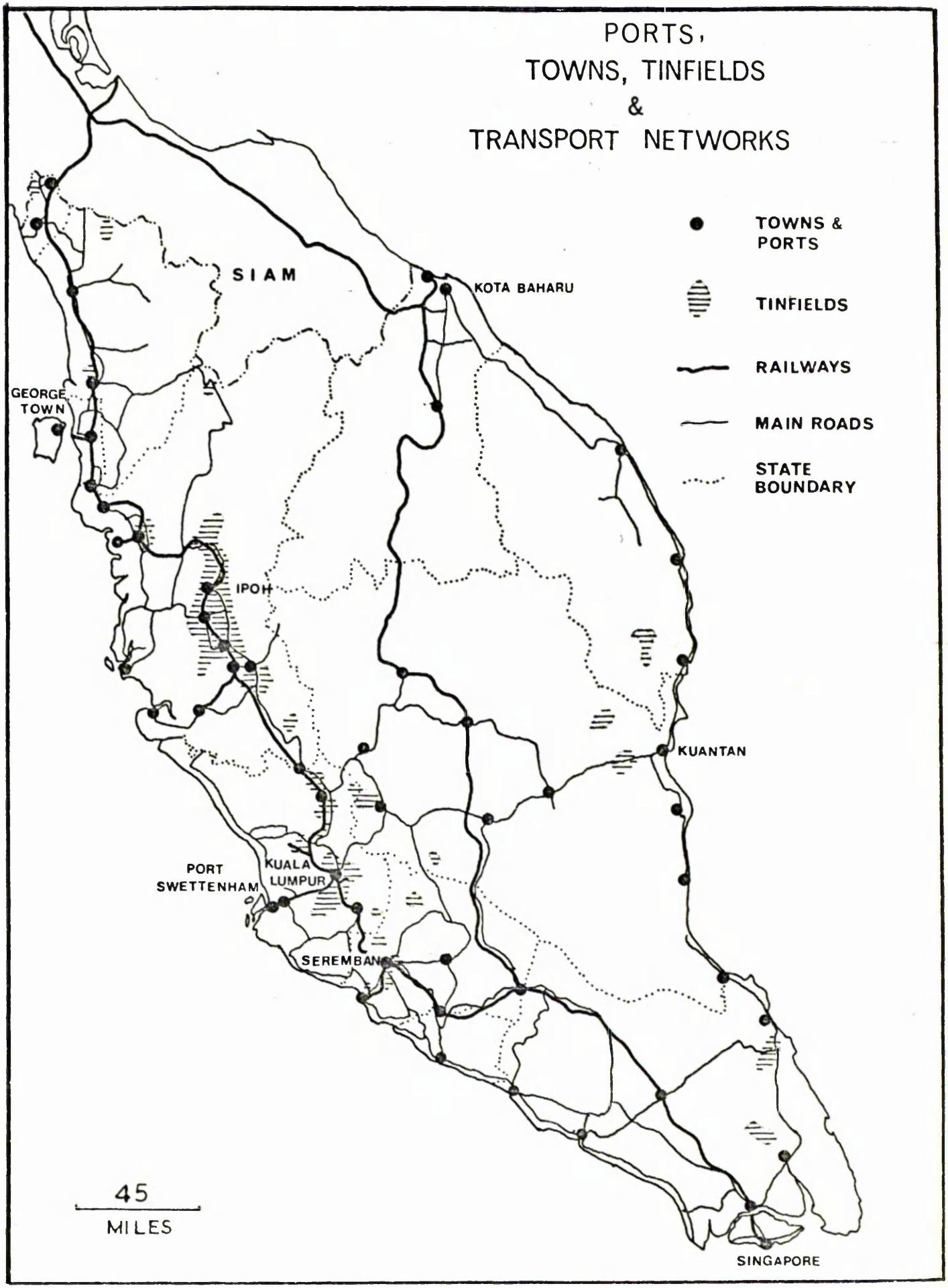
mainland, but feeder roads branching northward had began to gather momentum.

In so far as the urban development was concerned the impact of the trunk road was initially localised. The areas of development on the east coast for instance were confined to the Kelantan Delta, along Kuala Trengganu and the coastal strip between the two rivers. These areas were yet to link up with the Kuala Lumpur-Kuantan trunk road and to be effectively brought into contact with the urban system thus far developed in the western half of the country. However, in the western states, road transport proved to be more flexible and more quickly responsive to changes on local conditions. Roads also covered a wider area unserved by railway; and therefore provided the most important if localized network within the urban system.

Of national importance was the completion by 1911 of a horizontal road linking Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan on the east coast, traversing the peninsula. This was the first modern transport link by land of east coast with the main-stream of economic development in the country. Previous link of the major ports on the east coast was chiefly by coasters via Singapore.

Both the east coast railway line and the horizontal road link came perhaps too late to stimulate major economic development or the structural change in the urban development on the east coast. Although the search for mineral resources beyond the traditional 'tin countries' on the

Fig. XXVII


PORTS,
TOWNS, TINFIELDS
&
TRANSPORT NETWORKS
TOWNS & PORTS
TINFIELDS
RAILWAYS
MAIN ROADS
STATE BOUNDARY
SIAM
KOTA BAHARU
GEORGE TOWN
IPOH
KUANTAN
PORT SWETTENHAM
KUALA LUMPUR
SEREMBAN
SINGAPORE
45
MILES

western coast led to development elsewhere, the east coast states did not attract the miners to their folds in significant number. This was because of the relatively small quantity of the known deposits, except in some isolated enclaves (such as Kuala Dungun and Kuala Rompin). Although the east coast was physiographically no less suitable for rubber plantation, there was still much room for development on the western coast, where, for its nearness and early development, the factors of cost-benefit and cumulative spiral all worked in its favour. There was no urge for the planters to come east, yet. And the inadequacy and the late development of transport network rendered difficult the 'surface' type of development as had taken place in Perak to repeat here. Less still could a 'nodal' pattern of growth (as that developed in Selangor) possible as large concentration of population and political power was absent for obvious lack of economic incentive.

Taken together, the development of the railway and road networks was as important as the emergence of the urban centres themselves in the process of the evolution of the national urban system. The centres and the ports could not have become part and parcel of a spatial system but for the lines of communication.

Before 1911, the rail/road networks were largely confined to the western states, the urban system too was spatially circumscribed to the western strip of the peninsula. By 1928, a national road network began to take shape, followed in 1931 by a national railway network, the urban

system was similarily extended to embrace the urban centres on the east coast, which hitherto tended to develop as subsystems independent of the main system, rooted on the western half of the country.

The transport networks therefore acted as an artery bringing life into the entire system and regulated its structural and spatial growth.

The Colonial Ports

The evolution of the urban system was in the main fashioned by the colonial ports, the interior centres and the transport networks. In terms of function, the interior centres constituted the economic base, the transport networks, the artery and the colonial ports of Penang and Singapore, the 'head-link'. Operating within the framework of the colonial space economy, the head-link played a decisive role in shaping the structure of the urban system. The development of the two ports at the expense of other coastal ports symbolises at once the integrative forces as well as the sorting out process of the colonial spatial economy.

It is interesting to note the similarity and the difference in the development of Kedah and Malacca on the one hand, and Penang and Singapore, on the other. It is more than a locational coincidence that the ancient port-city of Kedah in the north was replaced by Penang, and the international imporium of Malacca, in the south was supplanted by Singapore.

The southward shift of gravity was only one of the several parallels of historical and geographical interest displayed by these two pairs of centres. It may be recalled that Kedah established itself as the chief city-state-cum-entrepot of the Malaya Peninsula long before Malacca became important. The rise of Malacca however totally eclipsed the declining Kedah. Penang, or the settlement of Georgetown, had its beginning in 1786 and had developed into a port of call and a centre of trade by 1819 when Modern Singapore, then a fishing village of 150 inhabitants, was founded. Singapore, however, halved the trade of the Penang, in one decade and surpassed it to become the primate city of the peninsula from mid-century onwards.

Interesting too is the fact that the two ancient centres were based on the peninsula while the colonial ports were located on the offshore islands. And yet both Kedah and Malacca did not generate a series of settlements spatially linked to themselves--they existed and operated in relative isolation. As mentioned in Chapter I, both Kedah and Malacca operated more as a 'mid-way' station in the international trade route, with centres of trade scattered in China, Indian Peninsula and the Middle East.

Penang and Singapore, by contrast, eventually functioned as the 'bridgehead' to the interior with the extension of British political control into the mainland. The urban development in the interior was in many ways 'fed' by these colonial ports (and the rejuvenated Malacca).

The two ports were richly nurished in return by the 'feed-back' from the development of the interior centres. Spatial interaction between the colonial ports and the interior, though physically separated, developed. Spatial interaction with the interior had not been a strong characteristics in the case of Kedah and Malacca.

The dominating influence of the colonial economy could be seen through the early development and the sorting out process between the ports and other settlements. There existed, prior to the large scale arrival of the immigrants on the mainland, a scattering of small ports and trading posts along the coast besides Penang, Singapore and the rejuvenated Malacca. These included for instance, Kuala Selangor, Klang and Muar on the west coast and Pekan, Kuala Trengganu and Kota Bharu on the east coast. Each of these had its own stretch of hinterland, but lateral interconnection between them was negligible. At this stage, the pace of development was generally slow on both sides of the peninsula and the scramble for hinterland and port concentration had yet to come. The growth of one port or trading post at the expense of others was far from evident. A state of equilibrium seemed to have maintained through separate existence. External link was effected by way of the colonial ports to which trading activities were geared. The coastal steamer across the straits, the pahru or dugout on the inland waterway, and the bullcart or perhaps the elephant on the jungle path thus made possible the initial primitive form of spatial interaction

between the colonial ports and the coastal trading posts and their hinterlands.

The colonial ports of Penang and Singapore were then but the points d'appui along the western Malayan seaboard, the prime function of which was presumably the naval defence and the control of the right of way through the straits. There was no intention to exploit the interior of the Malay Peninsula. The interest of maritime commerce lay elsewhere.

With the scramble for territorial control coming to an end and the industrial demand for raw materials of the western countries intensifying, the mineral exploitation of the interior and the production of the export commodities were stimulated. Consequently the economic considerations began to play an increasingly important part in the functions of the colonial ports. There was now strong need to forge close ties between the colonial ports and the hinterland. Penang and Singapore began to take on added significance. They now functioned not only as the 'bridgehead' of the western penetration into the interior, but also gradually as the 'headlink' of the interior to the outside world--primarily to the metropolitan country.

The addition of the economic function to the colonial ports had many ramifications. First, the ports developed more rapidly. Secondly, the domination of the colonial ports became obvious and a 'sorting out' process began. A hierarchical ordering process was set into motion

within the framework of the colonial economy. The fact that Malacca's importance, as indicated by its trade, was reduced to insignificance first as a result of the establishment of Penang and later, Singapore; and that Penang's ascendency was checked and replaced by Singapore in less than three decades, were clear indication of the operation of the 'sorting out' process.

The gradual replacement of Malacca by Penang in terms of importance took place when defence function, instead of economic function of the port was supreme--the wave of economic exploitation of the interior had yet to come. And when it did come, the weight of economic consideration imposed a new spatial dimension which favoured the location best suited to that function. Singapore, the hitherto vitually unhibited island which served the new function locally as well as regionally, grew and overtook Penang within a short span of time.

The domination of the colonial ports over the smaller coastal settlements was in keeping with sorting out process. The exploitation of the mineral resources and production of export commodities, were largely directed, financed and manpowered by, and from the colonial ports; and the end products shipped to and exported from the same bases. Just as the colonial ports constituted the oversea appendages of the metropolitan economy, the coastal settlements and later, the interior centres, functioned as outlying appendages to the colonial ports.

The traditional Kuala settlements and the trading posts, though

favourably located at the mouth of the river, were inadequate for the exporting function of the colonial economy. Colonial ports were called into being to serve that purposes. The replacement of Matang by Port Weld, Durian Sabatang by Telok Anson , and laterly Klang by Port Swettenham came readily to mind. The political entrenchment of traditional Klang helped prolong its importance, but its function as a port had to give way to the new colonial creation--Port Swettenham. Even when there was no traditional kuala settlement of importance in the vicinity, new one had to be created. Port Dickson was a case in point, which came into being for the tin mines in and around Seremban.

It should be pointed out however that the traditional coastal settlements such as Kuala Kedah, Muar, Banda Penggaram (Batu Pahat) on the west coast, all remote from the mining industry and therefore temporarily insulated from the impact of colonial-immigrant complex (which in this case arrived in force when the commercial plantation spread through the length of the peninsula), were not in danger of being replaced, although their growth rates lagged behind the newly created ports.

On the east coast, great distance and difficulty of access coupled by much smaller number of the immigrants helped preserve the traditional character of settlements like Kuala Trengganu and Kota Bharu. Yet one could not fail to notice that the mining development in Kuala Dungun and the political-commercial upgrading of Kuantan, both represented the

onslaught of the colonial-immigrant complex, had dented the indigenous element prevailing on this side of the coast. The power-house of this complex could of course be traced to the colonial ports, and Singapore in particular.

With the completion of the national railway and road networks, practically all the major coastal ports, traditional or colonial, on both sides of the coast, indeed most of the major interior centres as well, had to operate within the constraints of the two, or one of the two, giants.

Created by the colonial-immigrant complex, functioning through the transportation networks, the urban system had as its terminal nodes, Penang and Singapore, dominating the entire structure.

List of Abbreviations Used

A.A.A.G.	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
A.J.S.	American Journal of Sociology
A.S.	Asian Studies
E.D. & C.C.	Economic Development and Cultural Change
G.R.	The Geographical Review
J.M.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.S.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.T.G.	Journal of Tropical Geography (formerly Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography)
M.J.T.G.	Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography (now Journal of Tropical Geography)
P.S.	Population Studies
P.V.	Pacific Viewpoint
S.E.A.D.A.G.	South East Asia Development Advisory Group
S.G.R.T.	Soviet Geography: Review and Translation
T.E.S.G.	Tijdschrift voor Edonomische en Sociale Geografie
T.P.R.	Town Planning Review

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